Jesse Stephenson Esq
Nov. 21. 1[illegible]

PHILIP. II.

8 *HE humbled Himselfe, made obedient, vnto death, euen the death of the Crosse.*

9 *For this cause, hath God also, highly exalted Him; & giuen Him a Name, aboue euery name.*

10 *That, at the Name of* Iesus, *euery knee should bow, of those in Heauen, and in earth, and vnder the Earth.*

11 *And that, euery Tongue should confesse, that* Iesus Christ *is the Lord, to the glory of GOD the Father.*

For

Christs exalting. As. *Respexit humilitatem*, the ground, of His Mothers *Magnificat*. And He, that, by Him *brought light out of darkenesse*, at the first: will by Him, bring glory out of *humilitie* at last, Or, this booke deceiueth vs. With God, it shall haue the place of a *Propter quod*; how poore account soeuer, we make of it here. Like. 1. 48. 2 Cor. 4. 6.

But, this *Quod*, is a Collectiue; there bee in it, more points then one. I will but point at them.

Humiliauit Ipse, He humbled. (*He*) which many times is idle, but here, a circumstance of great waight. *He*: so great a Person; *being in the forme of God, and without any disparagement at all, equall to God* (as he tels vs a verse before) *He humbled. Vbi, Maiestatem præmisit; vt humilitatem illustraret.* That discourse of His High Maiestie, was but to set out, to giue a lustre to His *humilitie*. For, for one of meane estate, to be *humble*, is no great praise: It were a fault, if hee were not. But, in *alto nihil altum sapere*: For a King (as *Dauid*) to say, *I will yet be more humble*: for the King of Kings, for Him, to shew this great *humilitie*; that is a *Propter quod* indeede. *Humiliauit Ipse*. Ipse. 1. Verse. 6. 2. Sam. 6. 22.

Then secondly, that *Humiliauit Ipse se. Ipse se*, & not *alius ipsum*; that he was not brought to it by any other, but of his owne accord, *He humbled* 2 Se.

Propter quod, For this cause.

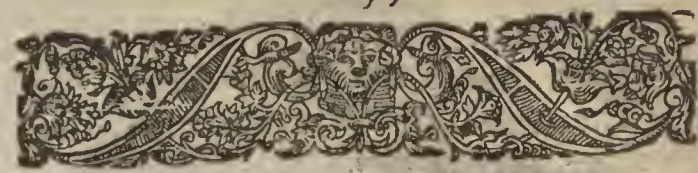
Verse 8. WE touch first vpon this word. It is the *Axis* and *Cardo*, the very point, whereupon the whole Text turneth.

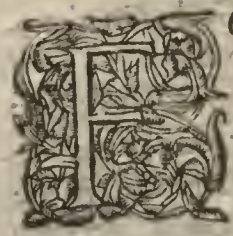
1. Propter. First, *Propter*; A cause there is. So God *exalts* euer; *for a cause*, Here, on earth, otherwhile, there is an *Exaltauit*, without a *Propter quod*. Some, as *Sobna*, *Haman*, *Sanballat*, Sometimes *exalted*; no man knowes, wherefore. With God, there goeth euer; with men, there should goe, a *Propter quod*, before *Exaltauit*.

Esay 22.15. Est. 3. 1. Nehem 4.1.

2. Propter quod. *For a cause*: for what? *for this cause*. And this now, casts vs backe to the former verse, where it is set downe, *Humiliauit*: There it is, for *His Humilitie*.

Humiliauit. Now, of all causes, not for that: if we goe by this world, which (as the prouerbe is) was made for the presumptuous. Not for that vertu of all others. A vertue, (before *Christ* thus graced it) so out of request, as, the *Philosophers*, (looke into their *Ethiques*) you shall not so much as finde the name of *humilitie*, in the list of of all their vertues: Well, this cast vertue, of no reckoning: is here made the *Propter quod*, of *Christs*





The sum. *For this cause, God hath exalted him* (saith the Text) *Him*, (that is *Christ*.) And, *for this cause* are wee now here, to celebrate this *exalting*. Of which His *exalting*, this is the first day: and the Act of this day, the first step of it: euen, *His rising againe from the dead*. *Hæc est clarificatio Domini nostri* Iesu Christi, *quæ ab Eius resurrectione sumpsit exordium* (saith St. *Augustine* vpon this place.) This now, is the glorifiing of our Lord *Iesus Christ*, which, tooke his beginning, at His glorious resurrection.

Thus, is the summe and substance of this Text, set downe by that learned Father.

The diuision. By him also, is it likewise diuided to our hands: Into *Humilitas Claritatis meritum*; and, *Claritas humilitatis præmium*. Humilitie, the merit of glory: (in the first verse of the 4.) And glory the reward of humilitie (in the other three.) Which two, here and euer, are so fast linked together, as, there is no parting them. I cannot, but touch, and I will, but touch the Merit (in the

1. the first verse:) It properly pertaines, to another day. And so, come to *Opus diei.*

2. The matter of this dayes exultation, is called here, *His Exaltation.*

And is, of two sorts. By God, (in the 9. verse,) And by vs, (in the two last.)

1. By God; And that, is double: *Of his Person: Of his Name.* Two *Super's*, either, one; *Super-exaltauit Ipsum.* His Person, there is one (in the
a. forepart of the 9. verse.) And *Nomen super omne*
b. *nomen*, His name; there is the other (in the latter part of it.) And this is Gods.

Then commeth ours. For, God exalting
2. it Himselfe; He will haue vs to doe the like. And not to doe it inwardly, alone: but euen outwardly to acknowlodge it for such: And sets downe precisely this acknowledgement, how He will haue it made by vs. Namely, two waies: By the *Knee*, by the *Tongue.* The
a. *Knee, to bow to it*, (verse 10.) The *Tongue, to*
b. *confesse it*, (verse 11.) And both these, to be generall; *Euery Knee, euery Tongue.* And not in grosse, but deduced into three seuerall rankes: *All in Heauen; All in earth, All vnder the earth*: which comprehendes all (indeede) and leaues none out. This acknowledgement, thus, but onely insinuated by the *Knee*, is by the
c. *Tongue*

Tongue more plainely expressed: And this it *is*, That *Iesus Christ is the Lord*, Lord of all those three. This, to be done, and so done, as it redound all, *to the glory of God the Father.* d.

But then last, take the vse with vs, that, since in Him, His *humiliauit se ipsum*, ends in *Super exaltauit Deus*: His *humbling Himselfe*, in Gods *Exalting*; That, *the same minde be in vs*: And, the Verse 5.
same end shall come to vs. As his end was, so ours shalbe, *in the glory of God the Father.*

The Prayer, &c.

Earls of Bedfords.

PIPPAY

John Wyndham Archer
Nov.r 21 : 1846

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THE COLLECTION of the Historie of *England.*

By *S. D.* 1618

Anrah

LONDON,
Printed by *Nicholas Okes*, dwelling in Foster-lane for the *Author.*

The most Noble
John Duke of Bedford
1736

TO THE MAIESTY OF ANNE OF DENMARKE, QVEENE OF ENGLAND, *Scotland, France and Ireland.*

Veenes, the Mothers of our Kings, by whom is continued the blessing of succession that preserues the Kingdome, hauing their parts running in the times wherein they liue, are likewise interressed in the Histories thereof, which containe their memories and all that is left of them, when they haue left to be in this world. And therefore to you, great Queene of *England* (and the greater by your loue to the nation, and the blessing you haue brought forth for the continuation of the future good thereof) doe I your humblest seruant addresse this peece of our History; which, as it is a worke of mine, appertaines of right to your Maiestie, being for the most parte done vnder your Roofe, during my attendance vpon your sacred person: and if euer it shall come to bee an intire worke, and merit any acceptation in the world, it must remaine among the memorials of you, and your time, as brought forth vnder the splendor of your goodnes. Howsoeuer, this which is done shall yet shew how desirous I haue beene to lay out my time and industry, as farre as my ability would extend to doe your Maiestie, and my Country seruice in this kinde.

And though at high Altares, none but high Priests ought to sacrifize, yet vouchsafe mighty Queene, to accept this poore oblation from the hand of your Maiesties

Humblest seruant,

Samuel Danyel.

¶

Certaine Aduertisements to the Reader.

His Peece of our History, which here I diuulge not, but impart priuately to such Worthy persons as haue fauoured my indeauors therein, should long since haue beene much more: and come abroade with Dedication, Preface, *and all the Complements of a Booke, had my Health and Meanes beene answerable to my desire: But being otherwise, I must intreate my Friends, to be content to be payd by peeces, as I may, and accept my willingnesse to yeeld as much as mine ability can performe. It is more then the worke of one man (were hee of neuer so strong forces) to Compose a passable contexture of the whole History of* England. *For, although the inquisition of Ancient times, written by others be prepared, yet the Collection and Disposition I finde most Laborious: and I know,* quam sit magnum dare aliquid in manus hominum, *especially in this kinde, wherein more is expected then hath beene deliuered before. Curiosity will not be content with Ordinaries. For mine owne part I am so greedy of doing well, as nothing suffices the appetite of my care herein. I had rather be Master of a small peece handsomely contriued, then of vaste roomes ill proportioned, and vnfurnished: and I know many others are of my minde.*

Now for what I haue done, which is the greatest part of our History (and wherein, I dare auow, is more together of the mayne, then hath beene yet contracted into one peece) I am to render an account whence I had my furniture: which if I haue omitted to charge my Margin withall, I would haue the Reader to know, that in the Liues of William *the First,* William *the Second,* Henry *the First, and*

 Stephan;

Stephan; *I haue especially followed* William Malmsbury, Ingulphus, Roger Houueden, Huntingdon, *with all such Collections, as haue beene made out of others for those times. In the Liues of* Henry *the Second,* Richard *the First,* Iohn, *and* Henry *the Third:* Giraldus Cambrensis, Rushanger, Mat. Paris, Mat. Westminst. Nich. Triuet, Caxton, *and others. In the Liues of* Edward *the First,* Edward *the Second, and Third:* Froissart *and* Walsingham, *with such collections as by* Pollidore Virgile, Fabian, Grafton, Hall, Holingshead, Stow *and* Speed, *dilligent and famous Trauailors in the search of our History, haue beene made and diuulged to the world. For forrayne businesses (especially with* France, *where we had most to doe) I haue for Authors,* Paulus AEmilius, Haillan, Tillet, *and others, without whom we cannot truely vnderstand our owne affaires. And where otherwise I haue had any supplyes extraordinary, either out of Record, or such Instruments of State, as I could procure, I haue giuen a true account of them in the Margin. So that the Reader shall be sure to be payd with no counterfeit Coyne, but such as shall haue the Stampe of Antiquitie, the approbation of Testimony, and the allowance of Authority, so farre as I shall proceed herein.*

And for that I would haue this Breuiarie to passe with an vn-interrupted deliuery of the especiall affaires of the Kingdome (without imbroyling the memory of the Reader) I haue in a body apart, vnder the title of an Appendix, *Collected all Treaties, Letters, Articles, Charters, Ordinances, Intertainments, prouisions of Armies, businesses of Commerce, withother passages of State appertayning to our History; which assoone as I haue meanes to Print, shall, for the better satisfying of such Worthie persons, as may make vse of such Materials, accompany this Collection: and to this* Appendix, *I haue made references in the Margin, as occasion requires.*

For the Worke it selfe I can chalenge nothing therein but only the sowing it together, and the obseruation of those necessary circumstances, and inferences which the History naturally ministers: desirous to deliuer things done, in as euen, and quiet an order, as such a heape will permit, without quarrelling with the Beliefe *of Antiquity, deprauing the actions of other Nations to aduance our owne, or keeping backe those Reasons of State they had, for what they did in those times: holding it fittest and best agreeing with integritie (the chiefest duty of a Writer) to leaue things to their owne Fame, and the Censure thereof*

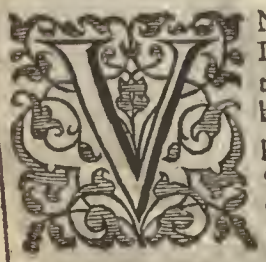
to

to the Reader; as being his part rather then mine, who am onely to recite things done, not to rule them.

Now for the errors herein committed, either by mine owne mistakings, or the Printers ouersight, I must craue a pardon of course, it is a Fate common to Bookes and Booke-men, and wee cannot auoide it: For besides our owne faylings, wee must heere take vp many things vpon other mens credits, which often comes imperfect to our hands: as the summes of Monies, numbers of Souldiers, Shippes, the slaine in Battayle, Computation of Tymes, differences of Names and Tytles &c. wherein our Authors agree not. And it were to bee wished that wee had more assured notes of these particulars then wee haue, especially for summes of Monies (in regard it serues much for instruction) wherein I doubt many of our Collectors haue beene but ill Acountants, reckoning Markes for Pounds, and Pounds for Markes. The Computation of Tymes is not of so great moment, figures are easily mistaken, the 10. of Iuly, and the 6. of August, with a yeare ouer or vnder, makes not a man the wiser in the businesse then done, which is only that hee desires. But these things being but of the By, the vnderstanding Reader will not much care to set at them, and therefore I referre him to the Mayne of more important consideration.

THE COLLECTION OF THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND: FROM WILLIAM THE FIRST, SVRMAMEDT THE CONQVEROR, TO THE END OF THE RAIGNE OF QVEENE ELIZABETH.

With a briefe relation of the precedent State, and Gouernment of the Kingdome, before that time; vnder the Romans, Saxons and Danes; which containes the space of 1100. *yeares, or there about.*



Ndertaking to collect the principall affaires of this Kingdome, I had a desire to haue deduced the same (from the beginning of the first British Kings, as they are registred in their Catalogue) but finding no authenticall warrant how they came there, I did put off that desire with these considerations; that a lesser part of time, and better knowne (which was from the last Conquest by the *Normans*) was more then ynough for my abilitie: and how it was but our curiositie, to search further backe into times past, then wee might well discerne; and whereof, we could neither haue proofe, nor profit: how the beginnings of all people, and states were as vncertaine, as the heads of great Riuers: and could not adde to out vertue, and peradventure (little to our reputation) to know them. Considering, how commonly they rise from the springs of pouertie, pyracie, robberie, and violence, howsoeuer fabulous writers (to glorifie their nations) striue to abuse the credulitie of after ages with heroycall, or miraculous beginnings. For stares (as men) are euer best seene, when (they are vp, and as they are) not as they were. Besides (it seemes) God in his prouidence, to checke our presumpruous inquitisitions; wraps vp all things in vncertaintie, barres vs out from long antiquitie, and bounds our searches within the compasse of a few ages; as if the same were sufficient, both for example, and instruction, to the gouerment of men. For had wee the particular occurrents of all ages, and all nations, it might more stuffe (but not better) our vnderstanding. We shall finde still the same corespondencies to hold in the actions of men: Vertues and Vices the same, though rising and falling, according to the worth, or weaknesse of Gouernors: the causes of the ruines, & mutations of states to be a like: and the trayne of affaires carried by precedent, in a course of Succession vnder like colours.

But

But yet, for that the chaine of this collection hath a linke of dependancie, with those former times, we shall shew the passage of things the better: if wee take but a superficiall view, of that wide, and vncertainly-related state of this Land, since the candle of letters gaue vs some little light thereof. Which was, since the *Romans* made it a tributarie Prouince to their Empire. For before, as it lay secluded out of the way, so it seemed out of the knowledge of the world. For *Iulius Cæsar*, being but on the other side, in *Gaule*, could not attaine to any particular information of the state of *Brittaine*, by any meanes he could vse, but by certaine Merchants (of whom hee got together as many as he could) who told him something of the coast-townes, but of the state and condition of the in-dwellers, they could say nothing: either so incurious were they of further knowledge, then what concerned their trade; or the people here so wary, to keepe their state reserued, and vnknowne to strangers. And yet *Cæsar* gaue out, that they sub-ayded the *Gaules* against him, and made it the occasion of his quarrell, and inuasion of the Land, whereof he onely subdued the South parts, and rather shewed it, then won it, to the *Roman* Empire.

Of the forme of Gouernment among the Brittaines.

Cæs. comment. libro. 5.

Complures sunt apud eos dominationes Strabo. *lib. 4.*

But now, what was the state and forme of gouernement among the *Brittaines* before this subiection? the first certaine notice wee haue (is also by the same *Cæsar*) who tels vs how they were deuided into many seuerall states: nominates foure Princes of *Kent* by the title of Kings: how *Cassiuellaunus*, by the common counsell was elected, in this their publique daunger, to haue the principall administration of the state, with the businesse of warre: and afterward, how the cities sent their hostages vnto him. Whereby we perceiue it was no Monarchie, as it is reported to haue beene, but like to the *Gaules*, with whom it was then, one in religion (and much a like in fashion and language) deuided into a multitude of pettie regiments, without any intire rule, or combination. As now, wee see all the west world (lately discoueted) to bee, and generally all other Countries are, in their first, and naturall free nakednesse, before they come to bee taken in; either by some predominant power from abroad, or grow to head, within themselues, of strength and vnderstanding, to ouer-maister, and dispose of all about them; introducing such formes of rule, as ambition, or their other necessities shall beget. And such was then the state of *Brittaine*, *Gaule*, *Spaine*, *Germany*, and all the west parts of *Europe*; before the *Romans* (ouer-growing first the people of *Italy*, in like manner deuided) did by strength, and cunning, vnlocke those liberties of theirs: And such as were then termed Kings, were but as their Generals in warre; without any other great iurisdiction, within those small limits they held. So that to tell vs of the state of a Monarchie in this Land, (before that time,) as if alone vnlike, [illegible]ore in State then all other nations: is to giue entertainment to those narraw conceits, as apprehend not the progresses in the affaires of mankind; and onely the inuention of such, as take all their reason, from the example and *Idea* of the present Customes they see in vse. For had there beene an absolute Monarch in these parts, which might haue affronted the *Romans*, with the powre of a wel-vnited state, it had beene impossible for them (hauing oftentimes much to doe euen with some poore Prince of a small territorie) to haue circumuented or confounded, with all their stratagems, and iniustice, the peace and libertie of the world, in such sort as they did. And though the *Brittans* were then simple, and had not that fire-brand of letters, yet seemed they more iust and honest, and brought forth on the stage of action, men as magnanimous, and toucht with as true a sence of honour, and worthinesse, as themselues. But hauing no firme combinements to chayne them together in their publique daungers, they lay loose to the aduantage of the common enemy; working vpon the factions, and emulations, vsuall to such diuisions, and were made the instruments of their owne subiection: for whilst euery one defended them apart, the whole was ouercome.

So that with what credit, the accoumpt (of aboue a thousand yeares from *Brute* to *Cassiuellaunus*) in a line of absolute Kings, can be cleared, I doe not see; and therefore will leaue it on the booke, to such as will bee creditors, according to the substance of their vnderstanding. And yet, let me craue pardon, least being but to report, I might seeme

seeme to contend, if I make this inquirie: how the memorie of those former times, came to be preserued and deliuered to posteritie, if they had not the vse of letters in this Land (as it seemes by all probability they had not) before they were introduced by the *Romans*, who (sure would haue giuen vs notice thereof) had they found them here at their comming, and especially of schooles and the Greeke tongue, reported to haue beene planted here for many ages before: but they tell vs of no such thing: they informe vs how the *Druydes*, who were the ministers of Religion and Iustice, the especiall men of knowledge) committed not their misteries to writing, but deliuered them by tradition, whereby the memorie of them after their suppression (first by *Augustus*, and after by *Claudius*) came wholly to perish with them. Which had they had letters and bookes, could neuer by all the power and authoritie of the *Roman* State, beene so vtterly extinct, but that we should haue heard something more of them.

Cic. in Ep. ad Atticum vbi belli Britannici exitum expectari scribit, nullius ex ea spem prædę, nisi ex mancipijs, ait. ex quibus nullos puto te, literis, aut musicis eruditos expectare. Et lib. de Nat. Deorum, paris cos cum Scithis barbaries insimulat.

Besides it is strange how the Greeke tongue, and the knowledge of Philosophie, should be brought hither so farre off, and so soone; seeing it was late (as *Liuy* saith) before it came into *Italie*, being so neere at hand. Moreouer, it is considerable, how it made that transmigration, whether by Sea or Land? By Sea, *Hercules* had set Pillars that shut vp the world, many ages after, for passing that way. If by Land, *Germanie*, and other Countries on that side, would haue taken some part in the passing: but *Germanie* then, we finde had no letters at all, onely *Merseilles*, a *Colonie* of the Greekes being in the midway; might be a gate, to let it into *Gaule*, and so hither: but they say the *Merseillans* vsed onely Greeke Chatecters at first, but for their priuate accompts and contracts in traffique, and no otherwise. So that it seemes then, the *Brittaines* receiued first letters (with their subiection) from the *Romanes*, and *Agricola*, Præfect of the Prouince vnder *Domitian*, caused them heere to be taught, (as *Cornelius Tacitus* (his sonne in law) reports vppon this occasion. *Aduice was taken*, saith he, *that the people dispersed, rude, and so, apt to rebellion, should bee inured to ease and quiet by their pleasures: and therefore they exhorted priuatly, and ayded them publikely to the building of Temples, Bourses, Pallaces; commending whom they found forward, and correcting the vnwilling, so that the emulation of honour was for necessitie: then they caused the principall mens sonnes to be taught the liberall Sciences, extolling their wits for learning, aboue the* Gaules *in so much as they who lately scorned the* Romane *tongue, now desired eloquence. Hereupon grew our habits in honour, the Gowne frequent, and by degrees, a generall collapsion into those softnings of vices; faire houses, bathes, and delicate banquets, and that, by the ignorant, was termed humanitie, when it was a part of seruitude.* Thus farre he acquaints vs with the introduction, and cause of the *Romane* learning in this Land. Which (had it had the *Greeke* tongue, so many hundred yeares before) would haue beene as forward in the liberall Sciences, as the *Romanes*, and not needed this emollition by learning. Philosophy would haue prepared them to a sufferance of subiection, that they could not haue beene so vniuersally rude, and barbarous as they are reported to haue beene. So that I feare me, of all that lies beyond this time, we can haue no other intelligence, but by tradition. Which how we may credit for so long past (when letters, for all the assurance they can make, breake faith with vs in the information of things euen present) let it be iudged.

Ingenio Galloriũ partim similes sunt partim simpliciores, & magis barbari. Strabo lib. 4.

And it was after the subiection of *Gaule* that they intertayned Philosophers, and Physitions for publique Readings, and became a schoole for those parts as we may perceiue by *Strabo libro. 2.*

And now for the time since, (which seemes to be all that amounts to our knowledge of the State of *Brittaine*) we finde it, during the Domination of the *Romans*, gouerned by their Præfects: and if they had Kings of the British Nation, they were tributarie, and had their whole authority depending on that Empire; which as the same *Tacitus* saith; made it now their custome to haue Kings the instruments of seruitude: speaking of *Cogedunus*, to whom *Claudius* gaue certaine Cities in *Brittaine*, with title of King. For now after *Cæsar* had opened the passage, and made tributarie so much, as he subdued; the rest could not long hold out, against that all incompassing State of *Rome*: although during the time of their ciuill warres, and change of gouernment, from a Republique to a Monarchie, this Country lay neglected, the space of twenty yeares: yet, after *Augustus* had setled the soueraignty, and possest all the wide obedience of that Empire, the Princes and Citties of *Brittaine* (fearing to be enforced) came in of their owne accord; with their gifts and tributes, and the rather; for that as yet, they had found no other weight of sub-

Nostra ætate, inquit Strabo. *lib. 4. Regulorum qui ĕm Britanicorum, legationibus & officijs amicitiam* Augusti Cæs. *consecuti, donaria in Capitolio dedicarunt: familiaremq;* Re-

manis *totam pene insulam redigerunt.* And at that time it seemes by *Strabo*, held it not worth the garding, for that it would not quit the charge.

subiection, then a tollerable tribute, which, it seemed, they were content to endure with the rest of their neighbours. But after *Augustus* time, when the corruptions of that State, had bred miserable inflammations in all parts of the world, the *Brittaines*, what with their owne factions, and those of their *Romane* commanders, remayned in an vncertaine obedience, till the time of *Claudius* the Emperor; who hauing much of the fume of glorie, and little fire to raise it otherwhere: casts an especiall eye on this Prouince, to make it the pompous matter of his triumph. And, to prepare the way, without aduenture of himselfe, foresends *Publius Ostorius Scapula* a great warrier, *Pro-prætor* into *Brittaine*, where he met with many turbulencies, and a people hardly to be driuen, howsoeuer they might be led: yet as one who well knew his mestier; and how the first euents are those which incusse a dauntingnesse, or daring, imployed all means to make his expeditions sodaine, and his executions cruell. Notwithstanding did *Carodocus* (one of the British Kings) hold these great *Romanes* worke for nine yeares together, and could not bee surprized, till betrayed by his owne Nation, he was deliuered into their hands, and brought to *Rome* captiue, with his wife and children, to be the subiect of their triumph: whereof notwithstanding the glory was his.

But *Claudius* had the honour of taking in the whole Isle of *Brittaine*, to the *Romane* Empire, which though thus wonne, was not, till a long time after, ouercome. For now the *Brittaines* (vnderstanding the misery of their dissociation: how their submission brought but the more oppression) colleague themselues against the *Romanes*, taking their occasion vpon the outrages, committed on the person, and State of Queene *Voadicia*, widow of *Prasutagus* King of the *Iceni*, a great, and rich Prince, who (at his death) had left *Nero* his heire, and two daughters, hoping thereby to free his house from iniury: but it fell out contrary; for no sooner was he dead, but his kingdome was spoyled by the *Ceuturions*, his house ransac'kt by slaues, his wife beatē, & his daughters rauished. Besides the chiefe men of the *Iceni* (as if all the Region had beene giuen in prey) were reft of their goods, and the Kings kinsmen esteemed as captiues: with which contumely, and feare of greater mischiefe, they conspire with the *Trinobantes* and others (not yet inured to seruitude) to resume their liberty. And first set vpon the Garrisons of the *Veteran* souldiers (whom they most hated) defeited the ninth legion, whereof they slew all the foote, forced *Cerialis* the Legat, and leader to flight, and put to the sword seuenty thousand *Romans* and associats, inhabiting their municipall Townes, *London*, *Virolame*, *Camolodunum*; before *Suetonius* Gouernour of the Prouince could assemble the rest of the dispersed forces, to make head against their Armie (consisting of 12000 *Brittaines*) conducted by *Voadicia*, who (with her two daughters, brought into the field to mooue compassion and reuenge) incites them to that noble, and manly work of liberty: which to recouer (she protests to hold her selfe there) but as one of the vulgar (without weighing her great honour and birth) resolued either to winoe or dye. Many of their wiues were likewise there, to be spectators and incouragers of their husbands valout; but in the end *Suetouius* got the victorie with the slaughter of foure score thousand *Brittans*, whereupon *Voadicia* poysons herselfe, and the miserable Country with their heauie losse, had also more weights layd vpon their seruitude. And yet after this made they many other defections, and brauely struggled with the *Romans*, vpon all aduantages they could apprehend, but the continuall supplies, euer ready from all parts of that mightie Empire, were such, as the *Brittans* (hauing no meanes, but their owne swords, in an vncomposed State, layde all open to inuasion) spent their bloud in vaine. And in the end, growing base with their fortune (as loosing their vertue with their libertie) became vtterly quailed, and miserably held downe to subiection, by the powrefull hand of foureteene Garisons, disposed in seuerall limits of the Land, with their companies, consisting of sundry strange nations, computated in all to be 52. thousand foote, and 300. horse; besides 37. companies contayning 23. thousand foote, and 1300 horse; which continually guarded the North parts, where (that, which is now *Scotland*, and obeyed not the *Roman* Empire) was excluded from the rest with a wall or trench, first rayfed by *Agricola*, after reedified by *Adrian*, *Seuerus* and others.

Camolodunum now *Maldon.*

De Notitia, vtr. Imper. Panciroul.

And

And in this sort continued the State of *Brittaine*, whilst the *Romans* held it; induring all the calamities that a deiected nation could doe, vnder the domination of strangers, proud, greedy and cruell. Which not only content, by all tyrannicall meanes, to extort their substance (but also) constraine their bodies to serue vnder their ensignes, when, or wheresoeuer, their quarrelous ambition would expose them. And besides they being at the will of their rulers, in their obedience, they were forced to follow them also in their rebellions. For after the election of the Emperours (grew to bee commonly made by the Armies) many possessing those mightie *Roman* forces here, were proclaymed *Cæsars*, and put for the whole Empire. As first *Carausius*, and after him *Alectus*, whom *Constantius* (the associate of *Maximianus*, in the Empire) at his first comming into *Brittaine*, by *Asclepiodorus* the Prætorian Præfect, vanquished, with all such as tooke part with him. After that, the *Caledonians*, and *Picts*, made eruptions into the State, and much afflicted the *Brittaines*: whom to represse, *Constantius*, (then sole Emperour of the West) came the second time into this Land; and in an expedition to the North parts, died at *Yorke*; whether his sonne *Constantine* (a little before his death) repaired out of *Illiria*, escaping a traine, layd for him by *Galerius*, Emperour of the East; with whom hee was in warres against the *Sarmatians*, when his father came first into *Brittan*, against *Alectus*; and heere was he now first saluted Emperour, for which it seemes he much esteemed the Countrie, as that which gaue birth to his dignity. And reordring the gouernment thereof (for a future security) deuides it into into fiue Prouinces, to be ruled by one Vice-gerent; fiue Rectors, two Consulars, and three Presidents. After whose time, wee haue no certaine nor important marke to direct vs, which way the State went, till the raigne of *Valentinian* the elder; who sends *Theodosius* (the father of him who was after Emperour of that name) into *Brittaine*, against the irruptions of the *Picts*, *Attacotti*, *Scoti*, *Saxones & Franci*, which of all sides inuaded and spoiled the Countrey: and after *Theodosius* had by the forces of the *Battaui*, and *Heruli*, cleered it, *Ciuilis* was sent to gouerne the Prouinces, and *Dulcitius* the Army: Men of faire names for such offices.

De Notitia veriusque Imperij Pancerauol.

In these warres with *Theodosius*, was one *Maximus*, a man borne in *Spaine*, but of *Roman* education, who after, in the time of the younger *Valentinian*, hauing the charge of the Armie, was here proclaimed *Cæsar*, and to subuert the present Emperour, transports, the whole power of *Brittaine*: and first in his way subdues *Gaule*, and there furnishes euery place of defence with *Brittish* souldiers; and they say, peopled the whole Countrey of *Armorica*, (now called *Brittaine* in *France*) with the same nation: which yet retaines their language, in some kinde, to this day. And hauing spread one arme to *Spaine*, the other to *Germany*, imbraced so great a part of the Empire, as he draue *Valentinian* to seeke ayde of *Theodosius*, Emperour of the East, after the vanquishment and death of his brother *Gratianus* at *Lions* And by this immoderate vent, both of the Garrisons, and the ablest people of the Land, hee dis-furnisht and left it in that impotency, as it neuer recouered like power againe. All those great forces hee tooke with him, either left in *Gaule*, or perishing with him at *Aquileia*, where he was ouerthrowne by *Valentinian*.

And yet againe in the time of *Honorius* the Emperour, the Colony of the *Veteran* souldiers, fearing the inuasion of the *Vandales*, made another defection, and tumultuarilie proclamed Emperour, one *Marcus*, whom shortly after they slue, then *Gratianus*, who likewise within foure monethes being murthered, they gaue the title to one *Constantine*, not so much for his merit, as the omination of his name. This *Constantine* taking the same course that *Maximus* did, whatsoeuer strength was left, or lately in any sort recouered, he emptied it wholy, and made himselfe of that power, as hee subdued many of the Westerne Prouinces: gaue his sonne *Constans* (a Monke) the title of *Augustus*, and after many fortunes, and incounters with the forces of *Honorius*, became vanquished, and executed at *Arles*. Where also perished the whole power hee brought out of *Brittain*. And so the State hauing all the best strength exhausted, and none, or small supplies from the *Romans*, lay open to the rapine and spoyle of their Northerne enemies: who taking the aduantage of this disfurnishment, neuer left till they

they had reduced them to extreme miseries: which forced them to implore the ayde of *Aetius*, Præfect of *Gaule* vnder *Valentinian* 3. and that in so lamentable manner, their Ambassadors in torne garments (with sand on their heads to stirre compassion) as *Aetius* was mooued to send forces to succour them, and caused a wall to bee rayled vpon the trench (formerly made by *Adrian*) from Sea, to Sea, of eight foote thicke, and twelue high, inter-set with Bulwarkes, which the *Roman* souldiers, and an infinit number of *Brittans* (firter for that worke then warre) with great labour effected. And so *Aetius* left them againe, once more freed and defended from the *Romans*, who (ouer-wrought with other businesse) could nor attend affaires that lay so farre off.

No soonet had the enemy intelligence of the departure of these succours, but on they came, (notwithstanding this fortification) battered downe the wall, ouerthrew the defenders, and harrowed the Country worse then before. Whereupon, againe this miserable people send to *Aetius*, vsing these words: To *Aetius* thrice Consull, the sighes of the *Brittains*, and after thus complaine: *The barbarous enemy beates vs to the Sea, the Sea beates vs backe to the enemy: betweene these two kinde of deaths, wee are either murdered or drowned.* But their implorations preuailed not, for *Aetius* at that time, had inough to doe, to keepe his owne head, and *Valentinian* the Empire: which now indured the last convulsions of a dying State, hauing all the parts and Prouinces thereof, miserably rent and torne, with the violences of strange nations. So that this was also (in the face of *Brittaine*) to be first made knowne; to perish by, and with the *Roman* State; Which neuer suffring the people of this Land, to haue any vse or knowledge of armes, within their owne Country, left them (vpon their dissolution) naked and exposed to all that would assaile them.

The end of the *Romans* Gouerment in *Brittaine*.

And so ended the *Roman* Gouernment in *Brittaine*, which (from their first inuasion by *Iulius Cæsar* to this *Valentinianus* the third) had continued the space of fiue hundred yeares. In all which time, we finde but these seuen *Brittish* Kings, nominated to haue raigned: *Theomantius*, *Cunobelinus*, *Guiderius*, *Aruiragus*; *Marius*, *Cœlus*, and lastly *Lucius*, who is crowned with immortall honour, for planting Christian religion within this Land. All other from *Lucius* to *Vortigern*, (who succeeds this relinquishment) were *Roman* gouernors.

Anno 443.

This is briefly so much of especiall note, as I can collect out of the *Roman* historie, concerning the State, and gouernment of *Brittan*: finding else-where little certaintie, and from hence foorth (during their short possession of this Land) farre lesse: Whereof *Gildas*, the *Brittan* complaines, laying the cause on the barbarisme of their enemies, who had destroyed all their monuments, and memorials of times past. And though himselfe wrote, about forty yeares after the inuasion of the *Saxons*, and was next these times, we come now to remember, yet hath he left (in his enigmaticall passions) so small light thereof, as we discerne very little thereby. Nor hath the *Brittans* any honour by that antiquitie of his, which ouer-blacks them with such vgly deformities as we can see no part cleere: accusing them to be neither strong in peace, nor faithfull in warre, and vniuersally casts those aspersions on their manners, as if he laboured to inueigh, not to informe. And though, no doubt, there was (as euer is) in these periods of States; a concurrency of disorder, and a generall loosenesse of disposition, that met with the fulnesse of time; yet were there, no doubt, some mixtures of worth, and other notions of that age, wherewith after-times, would haue beene much pleased to haue had acquaintance. But it seemes his zeale (in that respect) wider then his charitie, tooke vp the whole roome of his vnderstanding, to whom the reuerence of antiquitie, and his title of *Sapiens* doth now giue Sanctuarie, and we must not presume to touch him.

Gildas *de excidio* Britaniæ.

Anno 450.

Such was the State of *Brittan*, left without armes or order, when *Vortigern* (either by vsurpation or faction) became King, and is sayd to be the author of the first calling in (or imploying, being in) the *Saxons*, to make good his owne establishment, and the safetie of his kingdom, against the *Picts* and *Scots*.

The State of the *Saxons*.

The *Saxons* at this time, possest the third part of *Germanie*, holding all the Country betweene the Riuers *Rhene*, and *Elue*, bounded on the North by the *Baltique* Sea, and the

the *Ocean:* On the South by *Silua Hircinia*, and diuided by the riuer *Visurgis* into *Ostphalia*, and *Westphalia:* gouerned by an *Optimacie* of twelue Princes, with an election, of a soueraigne leader for the businesse of warre. This being so spacious, populous, and neere a Country, well furnisht with shipping (which the *Brittans* had not) yeelded, euer plentifull meanes to supply the vndertakers of this action, which were first (two brothers, *Hengist* and *Horsa*, withall necessarie prouisions) vpon euery fit occasion. After they had beene here a while (as stipendaries) and finding the debility of Prince, and people, their number soone increased. And first they had the Isle of *Thanet* allowed them to inhabite: then the whole Country of *Kent*, was made ouer to *Hengist* by transaction, vnder couenant, to defend the Land against the *Picts*, and *Scots*. And vpon the marriage of *Vortigern*, with the Daughter, or Neece of *Hengist*, an exceeding beautifull Lady, (brought ouer of purpose to worke on the dotage of a dissolute Prince) larger priuiledges were graunted: so that, by this allyance, and the fertillity of the Land, were drawne in, so many of this populous, and millitary nation, that *Kent*, in short time, grew too narrow for them, and *Hengist* (to distend their power into other parts) aduised *Vortigern*, to plant a Colony of them in the North, beyond *Humber*, to be a continuall guard against all inuasions that way. Which being graunted, he sends for *Otha*, his brother, and sonne *Ebusa*, with great supplies out of *Saxony*, to furnish that diseigne. And so came the *Saxons* to haue first domination in *Kent*, and *Northumberland*, which contained all the Country from *Humber* to *Scotland*. And now beganne (of seruants) maisters; to contemne their enterteinors, and commit many insolencies. Whereupon the *Brittish* nobility combine themselues, depose *Vortigern* (the Author of this improuident admission) and elect *Vortimer* his sonne, a Prince of great worth, who (whilst hee liued, which was not long) gaue them many fierce incounters: but all preuailed not, for the *Saxons* (being possest of the principall gate of the Land, lying open on their owne Country, to receiue all supplies without resistance) had the aduantage to weare them out of all in the end. And beside force, they are said to haue vsed treacherie (in murthering three hundred of the *Brittish* Nobility) at an assembly of peace at *Amesburie*, where they tooke their King prisoner, and would not release him, but vpon the graunt of three Prouinces more. Also the long life of *Hengist*, a pollitique leader (of almost forty yeares continuance) made much for the settling here of their estate: which yet they could not effect, but with much trauaile, and effusion of bloud. For the *Brittans* (now made martiall, by long practise, and often battailes) grew in the end so inraged, to see their Country surprized from vnder their feete; as they sold the inheritance thereof at a very deere rate: Wherein we must attribute much to the worthinesse of their Leaders (whence the spirit of a peo ple is raised) who in these their greatest actions, were especially *Ambrosius* the last of the *Romans*, and *Arthur*, the noblest of *Brittans*: A man in force, and courage aboue man, and worthy to haue bene a subiect of truth to posterity, and not of fiction, (as legendary writers haue made him) for whilst he stood, he bare vp the sinking State of his Country, and is said to haue incountered with the *Saxons*, in twelue set battails; wherein he had either victory, or equall reuenge. In the end, himselfe ouerthrowne by treason; the best men consumed in the warres, and the rest vnable to resist, fled into the mountaines, and remote desarts of the West parts of the Isle, and left all to the inuadors, dayly growing more and more vpon them.

Vortigern is deposed.

Vortimer elected King of *Brittan*,

King *Arthur*.

For many principall men of *Saxony*, seeing the happie successe and plantation here of *Hengist*, entred likewise on diuers coasts, to get Estates for themselues, with such multitudes of people; as the *Brittans* making head in one place, were assaulted in another, and euery where ouerwhelmed with new encreasing numbers.

For after *Hengist* had obtained the dominion of *Kent*, (which from him became to be a kingdome) and *Otha*, and *Ebuse* possest of all the North-countries from *Humber* to *Scotland*: *Ella*, and his sonnes conquered the South-East parts, and beganne the kingdome of the South *Saxons*, contayning *Sussex*, and part of *Surrey*. Then *Cerdic* and his sonnes landed at *Portsmouth*, inuaderh the South, and West parts, and beganne the kingdome of the West *Saxons*, which after contained the Countries of *Hamshire*, *Berk-*

The seuerall entries made by the *Saxons*,

Berkeshire, Wiltshire, Dorcetshire; *Somersetshire*, and *Deuonshire*. And about the same time, *Vffa*, inuaded the North-East parts, and beganne the Kingdome of the East Angles, contayning *Northfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Eley*: *Erkenwin*, beganne the kingdome of the East *Saxons*, contayning *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and a part of *Hertfordshire*.

Hauing thus (in a manner) surrounded the best of the whole State of *Brittaine*; they after inuaded the inner, and middle part. And *Cridda* beganne the kingdome of *Mercna-land*, or middle Angels, conteyning *Lincolnshire, North-hamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Rutlandshire, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxfordshire, Cheshire, Derbie, Nottingham*, and *Storaffdshire*, with part of the shires of *Hereford*, and *Hartford*: *Warwicke, Shropshire, Lancaster*, and *Gloucestershire*.

And with all these Princes, and Leaders, before they could establish their dominions, the *Brittaines* so desperately grappled, as plant they could not, but vpon distruction, and dessolation of the whole Countrie, whereof in the end they extinguished, both the Religion, Lawes, Language and all, with the people and name of *Brittaine*. Which hauing beene so long a Prouince of great honour and benefit, to the *Roman* Empire, could not but partake of the magnificence of their goodly structures, Thermes, Aquaducts, High-wayes, and all other their ornaments of delight, ease, and greatnesse: all which came to bee so vtterly razed, and confounded by the *Saxons*; as there is not left standing, so much as the ruines, to point vs where they were: for they, being a people of a rough breeding, that would not bee taken with these delicacies of life, seemed to cate for no other monuments (but of earth, and as borne in the field) would build their fortunes onely there. Witnesse so many Intrenchments, Mounts, and *Borroughs* raised for tombes, and defences vpon all the wide champions and eminent hils of this Isle, remayning yet, as the characters of the deepe scratches made on the whole face of our Country, to shew the hard labour, our Progenitors endured to get it for vs.

Which generall subuersion of a State, is very seeldome seene: Inuasion, and deuastation of Prouinces haue often beene made, but in such sort as they continued, or recouered, with some commixtion of their owne, with the generation of the inuadors. But in this, by reason of the vicinage, and innumerous populacie of that Nation (transporting hither both sexes) the incompatibility of Paganisme and Christianitie, with the immens bloud, shed on both sides; wrought such an implacable hatred, as but one must possesse all. The conquest made by the *Romans*, was not to extirpate the Nation; but to maister it. The *Danes*, which afterward inuaded the *Saxons*, made onely at the first depredations on the coast, and therewith for a time contented themselues. When they grew to haue further interest, they sought not the subuersion, but a community, and in the end, a soueraigntie of the State; matching with the women they here found, bringing few of their owne with them. The *Normans* dealt the like with the Prouince of *Nuestria* in *France*: and after they had the dominion, and what the victorie would yeeld them in *England*, were content to suffer the people here, to haue their being; intermatched with them, and so grew in short space into their body. But this was an absolute subuersion, and concurred with the vniuersall mutation, which about that time happened in all these parts of the world; whereof, there was no one Country, or Prouince, but changed bounds, inhabitants, customes, language, and in a manner all their names.

The absolute subuersion of *Brittaine*.

For vpon the breaking vp of the *Roman* Empire (first deuided into two, and then by faction, disioynted in each part) imploying the forces of many strange Nations to fortifie their sides; were made so wide ruptures in the North, and North-east bounds of that Empire; as there burst out infinite streames of strange people, that ouer-ranne, and laide open the world againe to libertie, other formes and lymits of State: whereupon followed all these transmigrations and shiftings of people, from one Country to another. The *French* and *Burgognons* dispossest the *Gaules*, and gaue the name of *France* and *Burgogne* to their Prouince. The *Gaules* transplanted themselues on some coasts of *Spaine*, where they could finde, or make their habitation: and of them had

Gallicia

Gallicia and *Portugall* their name. The *Hunnes* and *Auari* subdued *Pannonia*, and thereto gaue the name of *Hungarie*. The *Longbeards*, a people of *Germany*, bordering vpon the *Saxons*, entred *Italy*, got the greatest part thereof, and left there their name to a principall Prouince, remayning to this daie. The *Gothes* and *Vandales*, miserably afflicted the rest, sackt *Rome*, and after subdued, peopled, and possest *Spaine*. So that it was not in the fate of *Brittaine* alone, to bee vndone, but to perish, almost, with the generall dissolution of other States, which happened about the same age.

Lumbardie so called of the Longberds.

Wherefore, we are now here to beginne with a new Bodie of people, with a new State, and gouernment of this Land, which retained nothing of the former, nor held other memory but that of the dissolution thereof: where scarce a Citie, Dwelling, Riuer, *Hill*, or Mountaine, but changed names. *Brittaine* it selfe was now no more *Brittaine*, but *New Saxonie*, and shortly after, either of the Angles (the greatest people of the inuadors) or of *Hengist*, called *Engist-Land*, or *England*. The distance, made by the rage of warre, lay so wide betweene the conquering and conquered people, that nothing either of Lawes, Rites and Customes, came to passe ouer vnto vs from the *Brittaines*: nor had our Ancestors any thing from them, but their Country: which they first diuided into eight kingdomes: all which, continued to the last extermination of the *Brittaines* vnder *Caretius* their King, with whom they were driuen ouer *Seuerne*, 136. yeares after the first entertainment of *Hengist*. And soone after, the *Saxons*, encroching vpon each others parts, or States (which neuer held certaine bounds) and the stronger vsurping vpon their weaker neighbours, reduced them to seauen kingdomes; that of the *Northanimbrains*, being made one of two: and then to sixe (the West *Saxons* taking in the kingdome of *Sussex* to their dominion.) And so it continued about 250 yeares.

At the first, by the space of 150 yeares, they were meerely gouerned by their owne Lawes, without mixture of any other. But after *Augustine* the Monke, sent with fortie others, by Pope *Gregorie*, had conuerted *Æthelbert*, King of *Kent*, and some other, they all shortly after receiued the Christian faith, and had their Lawes and Rites ordered according to Ecclesiasticall constitutions. Many of their Kings, when their sterne asperitie grew molified by humility of the Religion, beganne to raise presently so many and great monuments of their piety, in all parts of the Land, as if they striued who should exceed therein, and had no other glorie: Diuers of them renounced their temporall dignities for Spirituall solitude, and became Monkes; as *Aethelred*, and *Kinred*, Kings of *Merena-Land*; *Offa* King of the East *Saxons*; *Kadwalla*, and *Ina*, Kings of the West *Saxons*; *Eadberte* King of *Northumbrians*, &c.

At length the kingdomes of *Merc-naland*, and West Sax, so farre ouer-grew the others in power, as betweene them two it lay, who should haue all. For *Ina*, a martiall, wise, and religious Prince, gouerning the West *Saxons*, first aduanced that Kingdome to a preheminencie, and did much to haue subdued *Merc-naland*: but yet *Offa*, (afterwards King thereof) was in faire possibility to haue swallowed vp both the West *Saxons*, & all the rest of the Kingdoms. For whilst he liued, which was in the time of *Carolus Magnus*, (which whom he held league & amity) he was esteemed as the especiall King of the Land. But the many wrongs he did, and the murther committed in his house vpon *Aethelbert* K. of the East Angles, comming to him vnder publique faith, and a suitor to his daughter, were iustly reuenged vpon his posteritie, which after him declining, in the end lost al. For *Egbert*, discended from *Inegild*, the brother of *Ina*, attaining the kingdome of the West *Saxons*, beganne the way to bring all the rest into subiection. And being a Prince, who (from a priuate fortune, wherein he liued below, with, and not aboue other men) had learned sufferance and moderation; and by the Estate of an exile, experience; grew to haue great aduantages ouer the time, and others borne-fortunes, and rose by these meanes.

Ina, his great Vncle, renouncing the world, with his kingdome, and dying without issue, left the succession imbroiled, and out of the direct royall lyne as hee found it. So that those foure Kings of the West *Saxons*, who seuerally succeeded him. *Ethelard*, *Sigibert*, *Kinulph* and *Britric*, were rather Kings by election, and their owne power, then

then by right of diſcent. And *Britric* knowing the weakeneſſe of his title, and the much promiſing forwardneſſe of *Egbert*; with his propinquitie in bloud, to the former Kings, practized to haue him made away; which hee perceiuing, fled firſt to *Offa*, King of *Mercna-land*, where finding little ſecurity, in regard *Britric* had (to ſtrength himſelfe) married the daughter of the King, hee eſcaped into *France*, and there remayned till the death of *Britric*, and then returning, obtaines that kingdome of the *Weſt-ſaxons*; ſubdues *Cornewall*, inhabited by the *Brittaines*; and after ſets vpon *Bernulph*, newly inueſted in the Kingdome of *Mercna-land*; a State (by the rupture of the Royall line) likewiſe growne tottering. For *Egferth*, the ſonne of *Offa*, enioyed but foure monethes, the inheritance of his fathers immanitie: whereby that Kingdome diſcended collaterally to *Kennulph*, who left it to *Kenelme* a childe, after murthered by his ſiſter *Quinred*. *Ceolulph*, brother to *Kennulph*, ſucceeding, after his firſt yeares raigne, was expeld by *Bernulph*, and *Bernulph by Egbert*, who made that Kingdome tributarie to the Weſt *Saxons*, as he did after that of the South, and Eaſt *Saxons*, with the Kingdome of *Northumberland*. And by this meanes (in a manner) attained to a ſoueraignty of the whole country. But the *Danes* imbroiling his peace in the end of his raigne, held him backe from enioying ſuch a fulneſſe of power, as that wee may account him the abſolute Monarch of the Kingdome, nor yet any of his ſucceſſors, ſo long as the *Danes* continued vnſubiected. For they hauing firſt made irruptions into the State, in the raigne of the late King *Britric* (his predeceſſor) euer after held a part therof, and afflicted the whole, till they had attained the abſolute ſoueraigntie to themſelues.

Egbert obteyned the kingdome, which by him was named England.

Anno 802.

The *Danes* were a people of *Germanie*, next neighbours to the *Saxons*, and of language and manners little different: Poſſeſſing beſides *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus* (now called *Denmarke*) all the Iſles adiacent in the *Baltique* Sea, and ſometimes the kingdome of *Norway*: A mightie, rough, and martiall Nation; ſtrong in ſhipping, through their exerciſe of piracie, and numerous in people for all ſupplements. Who perceiuing here the happie ſucceſſe, and plantation of the *Saxons*, were drawne with deſire and emulation, likewiſe, to put in for a part; the coaſt lying open to inuaſion, and the many diuiſions of the Land, with the diſcord of Princes, making them an eaſie way thereunto. So that in a manner, as ſoone as the *Saxons* had ended their trauailes with the *Brittaines*, and drew to ſettling of a Monarchie; the *Danes*, as if ordained to reuenge their ſlaughters, beganne to aſſault them with the like afflictions. The long, the many, and horrible encounters betweene theſe two fierce Nations, with the bloudſhed, and infinit ſpoiles committed in euery part of the Land, are of ſo diſordred and troublous memory, that what with their aſperous names, together with the confuſion of place, times, and perſons, intricately deliuered, is yet a warre to the reader to ouer-looke them. And therefore to fauour mine owne paines and his, who ſhall get little profit thereby, I paſſe them ouer.

The diſcription of the Danes.

After the death of *Egbert*, *Aethelwolph*, his ſonne ſucceeded in the State, with the title of King of the Weſt *Saxons* onely, and was a Prince more addicted to deuotion then action: as may be ſeene by his donation of the tenth part of his Kingdome (with exemption of all regall ſeruice) for the ſeruice of God: beſides an annuitie of three hundred markes, to be beſtowed in pious vſes at *Rome*; whither he went twice in perſon, which his yongeſt ſonne *Alfred*, whom he eſpeciall loued; and whom (Pope *Leo* the fourth) annointed a King, at eleuen yeares of age, as if deuining of his future fortune.

Vpon his laſt iourney, and whole yeares ſtay at *Rome*; *Aethelbald*, his eldeſt ſonne, combin'd with the Nobility of the Weſt *Saxons*, to keepe him out, and depriue him vtterlie of his gouernment, and wrought ſo, as notwithſtanding the great loue his people bare him, he was brought to yeeld vp the Kingdome of the Weſt *Saxons*, to *Aethelbald*, and retaine onely the Kingdome of the Eaſt Angles, (a State of farre leſſe dignitie) to himſelfe. After which, raigning but two yeares, *Aethelbald* ſucceeded in the whole, and with great infamy, marrying his fathers widow, *Iudith*, daughter to *Charles le Chauue*, King of *France*, enioyed it but two yeares and a halfe; when *Aethelred*, the ſecond ſonne of *Aethelulph*, entred to the gouernment, which hee held

fiue yeares in continuall conflict, with the *Danes*.

After whom, *Alfred*, the mirrour of Princes (made a King before he had a Kingdome) at two and twenty yeares of his age, and in a yeare wherein eighr seuerall battailes had beene giuen to rhe *Danes*, by the *Saxons*; beganne his troublous raigne, wherein hee was perpetually in warre, either against his enemies, or else against vices. *Alfred. 872.*

First after a great daunger to loose all, hee was forced to yeeld vp a part of the Kingdome (which was that of the East Angles and *Northumberland*) to *Gutbrun*, leader of the *Danes*, whom (vpon his baptization) he made his confederate, and owner of that by right, which before he vsurped by violence.

And notwithstanding all the continuall, and intricate toile hee indured amidst the clattering and horror of armes, he performed all noble actions of peace: collecting first the Lawes of his predecessors, and other the Kings of the *Saxons* (as those of *Offa*, King of *Mercna-land*, and *Aethelbert* the first Christian English King) of which, by the graue aduise, and consent of his States assembled, he makes choice of the fittest (antiquates those of no vse) and addes other according to the necessity of the time.

And sot that the wildenesse of warre, by the reason of these perpetuall conflicts with strangers, had so let out the people of the Land, to vnlawfull riots and rapine; rhat no man could rrauaile without conuoy: hee ordained the diuisions of shires, hundreds, and tithings: that euery Englishman (now the generall name for all the *Saxons*) liuing legally, might bee of a cerraine hundred or Tirhing, out of which, hee was not to remoone without securitie: and out of which, if hee were accused of any crime, hee was likewise to produce sureties for his behauiour; which if hee could not finde, he was to indure the punishment of the Law. (If any malefactor, before or after hee had put in sureties escaped; all the Tithing or Hundred were fined to the King, by which meanes he secured trauailers, and the peace of his Country.

The opinion he had of learning made him often complaine the want thereof; imputing it amongst his greatest infortunes to haue beene bred without it, and to haue his kingdome so vtterly destitute of learned men, as it was, through rhe long continuance of this barbarous warre: which made him send out for such, as were any way famous for letters; and hauing gotten them, he both highly preferred them, and also (as they doe, who know not to much themselues) held them in great veneration: Rarenesse then, setting a higher price on meaner parts; then after, Plenty did on more perfections. *Grimbald*, and *Scotus*, hee drew out of *France*: *Asser* (who wrote his life) out of Wales; other from other parts: he was the first lettered Prince we had in *England*; by whose meanes and incouragement publique Schooles had here, eirher, rheir reuiuing, or begining.

Those wants of his owne, made him take a greater care for the education of his sonnes, with whom (were bred, vnder most deligent masters) almost all the children of the Nobilitie within his Kingdome.

All his owne time he could cleere from other businesse, he bestowed in studie; and did himselfe, and caused orhers, to translate many things in rhe vulgar tongue: which he laboured (it seemes) much to adorne, and especially affected the *Saxon* meeters: whereby to glorifie that of a King, he attained the title of Poet. *Mat. Wesim.*

The naturall daie, consisting of 24 houres, he cast into three parts: whereof eight in the seruice of his bodie, and eight in the affaires of his States. Which spaces (hauing then no other engine for it) he measured by a great waxe light, deuided into so many parts, receiuing notice by the keeper thereof, as the seuerall houres passed in the burning.

Wirh as faire an order did he proportion his reuenues, equalling his liberalities to all his other expences: whereof to make the current runne more certaine, he tooke a precise notice of them, and made a generall-suruay of the kingdome, and had all the particulars of his estate registred in a booke, which hee kept in his treasurie ar *Winchester*. And within this circumference of order, hee held him in thar irregularity of fortune, with a weake disposition of bodie; and raigned 27 yeares, leauing his sonne

The first suruay of the kingdome.

sonne *Edward*, a worthie successor, to maintaine the line of Noblenesse thus begun by him.

Edwardus Senior.

An. 900. EDward, though he were farre inferiour to him in learning, went much beyond him in power: for hee had all the kingdome of *Mercia-land*, in possession: whereof *Alfred* had but the homage, and some write, held soueraignitie ouer the East Angles, and *Northumbrians*: though we finde in the ioynt Lawes that he and *Guthrum* made together, they held the same confederation fore-concluded by *Alfred*. Hee also subdued the *Brittaines* in Wales: fortified and furnished with garrisons diuers townes in *England*, that lay fit to preuent the incursions of the *Danes*; and was all his raigne of 23 yeares, in continuall action, and euer before hand with fortune. And surely his father, hee, and many that succeeded, during this *Danique* warre, though they lost their ease, wonne much glory and renowne. For this affliction held them so in, as hauing little ourlets, or leisure, for ease and luxury, they weare made the more pious, iust and carefull in their gouernment: otherwise it had beene impossible to haue held out against the *Danes*, as they did: a people of that power and vndauntable stomacke, as no fortune could deterre; nor make to giue ouer their hold. And the imbecility of some vnactiue Prince at that time, had beene enough to haue let them quite into the whole: which may be the cause, that in the succession of some of these Kings, were certaine ruptures made out of course, in respect of their ableness.

An. 924. As first, after the death of this renowned King *Edward Senior*, his sonne *Athelstan* of full yeares, and spirit, was (notwithstanding the bracke in his birth) preferred before his legittimate sonne *Edmond*, vnder age: Nor did *Athelstan* disappoint the kingdome in this worke, but performed all Noble parts of Religion, Iustice, and Magnanimitie; after sixeteene yeares raigne,

Edmond. 940. dying without issue, *Edmond* his brother succeeded him. A Prince likely to haue equalled the worth of his Predecessors, had he not vntimely perished by the hand of a base Out-law in his owne house, at a festiuall, amidst his people, that deerely loued and honoured him. And though he left two sonnes, yet was *Edred* his brother pre-

Edred or Eldred. 946. ferred to the Kingdome before them: who making no variation from the line of Vertue, continued by his auncestors, was held perpetually in worke by the *Danes*, during the whole time of his raigne, which was of ten yeares.

Edwin. *Edwin*, his nephew, the eldest sonne of *Edmund*, succeeded him (an irregular youth) who interrupting the course of goodnesse, liued dissolutely, and died wishedly. Otherwise had *Edgar* (the other sonne of *Edmond*) continued that rare succession of good Princes, without the interposition of any ill.

An. 959. *Edgar*, though hee were but sixteene yeares of age, yet capable of councell, was by the graue aduise of his Bishops (who in that time of zeale held especially the raines on the hearts and affections of men) put and directed in the way of goodnesse, and became a most heroicall Prince.

Edgar prouides shipping for *England*. Amongst other his excellent actions of gouernment, hee prouided a mightie Nauy, to secure his coasts from inuasion; which now he found (though late) was the onely meane to keepe out these miseries from within, that thus lamentably afflicted the land, euer before negligent, or not inured to sea-affaires. For when the *Romans* first subdued the same, there was no shipping, but a few small vessels made of wicker, and couered with hides: whereby they, and after the *Danes*, both mighty (as those times gaue in shipping) found that easie footing they had: Yet *Egbert* is said to haue prouided a strong Nauie, about the yeare 840. And *Alfrid* thirty or forty yeares after did the like. But either now dis-used, or consumed by the enemy; *Edgar* re-edifies, and sets foorth a Fleet consisting (as some write) of 1600 saile, others a farre greater number, and those he deuides and places in foure parts of the Realme, making his progresses yearely, with part of this mightie Nauy, round about the whole Isle, whereof he assumed the title of King.

And to reduce it all to one name, and Monarchie, he was intitled, king of all *Albion*;

Ego

as testifies his Charter granted to the Abby of *Maldesmesbury*, in these words: *Ego Edgarus totius Albionis Basileus, nec non Maritimorum, seu insulanorum Regum circum habitantium, &c.* For he hauing first of all other made peace with the *Danes*, and granted them quiet cohabitation through all his dominions; had the soueraignetie ouer them: And *Kenneth*, King of *Scots* did him homage, whether for *Cumberland*, and *Westmerland*, giuen to that Crowne by King *Emond* his father; or for his whole Kingdome; I cannot say. And fiue Kings of *Wales* did the like for their Country, and came all to his Court at *Cardiffe*.

So that hee seemes the first, and most absolute Monarch of this land, that hitherto we finde: The generall peace that held all his time, honoured his name with the title of *Pacificus*: and rendred his Kingdome (neuer before acquainted with the glory of quietnesse) very flourishing. But as if the same had beene giuen to shew, and not to vse (like a short calme betwixt stormes) it lasted but little beyond his raigne of sixteene yeares: being too short to close the dissouered ioynts of a commixed Kingdome; which was onely, to haue beene the worke of Time: and that none of these late Princes (who were best like to haue aduanced, and confirmed the State of a Monarchie) were ordained to haue. But all (as if things would another way) were put off from their ends, by their vntimely deaths: as was this glorious young Prince, in the two and thirtith yeare of his age: leauing his sonne *Edward*, a child, to vndergoe the miseries of nonage, to bee made a sacrifice for ambition, and a Saint by persecution, through the hand of a step-mother; who to aduance her owne *Ethelred*, brake in, ouer the bounds of Nature and right, to make his way: and is sayd, her selfe to haue murthered him, comming to her house, estrayed, in hunting, and discompanied, in the Isle of *Purbeck*.

Hee raigned 16. yeares.

Saint *Edward*. *An. 975.*

Ethelred.

BVT *Ethelred*, as if ill set, prospered not on this ground: the enterance to whose raigne was bloud; the middle, misery; and the end, confusion: They write, Saint *Dunstan* preaching at his Coronation, prophetically (forerold him) of the calamities would follow this transgression: saying: *For that thou hast aspired to the Crowne, by the death of thy brother, murthered by thy mother; thus saith the Lord: the sword shall neuer depart from thy house, raging against thee all the daies of thy life, slaying those of thy seed, till the Kingdome be transferred to another, whose fashion, and language, thy people shall not know. Nor shall thy sinne, nor the sinne of thy ignominious mother, with her Councellors, bee expiated, but by long auengement.* And this (whether so vttered or not) was ratified in the euent. For either this vniust disordring the succession, or the concurrency of hidden causes meeting with it, so wrought, as this late begunne Monarchie fell quite asunder, and begat the occasion of two Conquests, by forraine Nations, within the space of fiftie yeares.

An. 978.

Two conquests of this Kingdome in fiftie yeares.

For the *Danes*, hauing now beene so long inmates with the English, dispread ouer all parts by intermatching with them, and multiplying with the late peace and confederations, had their party (though not their rule) greater then euer: so that this opportunitie of a young and vnsettled Prince, in a new and branling State, drew ouer such multitudes of other of the same Nation: as euery coast and part of the Land, were miserably made the open rodes of spoile and saccage: in such sort, as the State knew not where to make any certaine head against them: for if incountred in one place, they assailed another, and had so sure intelligence what, and where al preparations were raised, as nothing could be effected auaylable to quaile them; Whereupon *Ethelred*, in the end, was faine, seeing he could not preuaile with the sword, to assaile them with mony, & bought a peace for 10000 pounds: which God wot, proued after, a very deere penny-worth to the cõmon wealth, shewing the seller therof, how much was in his power, & the buyer, at how hard a rate his necessity was to be serued; & yet not sure of his bargaine, longer then the contractor would. Who hauing found the benefit of this

The spoiles made by the *Danes*.

this market, raised the price thereof almost euery yeare. And yet had not *Ethelred* what he paide for: the Land in one part or other, neuer free from spoile and inuasion; but rather the more now oppreſt, both by the warre, and this taxation. Which was the first we finde in our Annales, laide vpon the Kingdome (and with heauie greeuance raised in a poore distressed State) continuing many ages after the occasion was extinct: And in the end (though in another name) became the vsuall supplyment, in the dangers of the Kingdome, and the occasions of Princes.

The originall of *Dane* gelt, the first impoſition laid vpon the kingdome.

And hereby *Ethelred* both inlarged the meanes, and desire of the enemy, so that at length, came *Swain*, King of *Denmarke*, and *Aulafe*, King of *Norway*, in person, as if likewise to receiue hier for committing outrage, and were both returned with great sums, and *Aulafe* of a milder disposition, with baptisme. These calamities from abroad, were made more, by the disloyalties at home: faith and respect (being seldome found safe in loſt fortunes) held not in most of the principall men imployed in the defence. *Aelfric*, Admirall of the Nauy, is said to haue giuen intelligence of all Sea-preparations, and disappointed that worke. The Earles *Fran*, *Frithigist*, *Godwin*, and *Turkettle*, discended of *Danike* progeny, and of greatest commaund, deceiued the armies by Land, and were the auethors of discouragement to the people they led. *Edric Earle* of *Marc-land*, after them made Generall of the Kings forces, is branded with euerlasting ignominie, and the title of *False*, for his barbarous disloyaltie, frustrating all attempts wherein he was imployed.

Wolnod, a Nobleman, for his misdemeanor outlawed, made deptedations on the coastes, with twentie shippes, and was the cause that foureſcore more sent to take him in, were vtterly consumed. This defection of his Nobilitie, howsoeuer it might bee by their owne discontent, emulation, corruption, or affection, is laide to the pride of *Ethelred*, whom yet wee finde more vnfortunate then weake, howsoeuer they haue set his marke: and neglected no occasion to make resistance and reparations against all euents, bringing often his affaires to the very point of dispatch, and yet put by, at an instant from all, as if nothing went with him, but his will to doe worthily: which howsoeuer it were (besides the miserie to loose) hee must haue (that which accompanies infelicity) *Blame*, and *Reproch*. Though the many and desperate battailes hee made; the good constitutions for the gouernment; the prouisions to supply all impottant occasions, shew, that hee was not much behinde the best Princes, but onely in fortune

Pride defection of Nobilitie.

By the example of *Edgar* his father, hee procured a mightie Nauie; causing of euery three hundred and tenne Hide or Plough-land throughout the Kingdome, a Shippe to be built, and of euery eight, a Corslet to bee found: Yet all this shipping stood him in little stead, but was either quasht with tempest, consumed with fire by the enemy, or otherwise made vnusefull by neglect, or ignorance: whereby the hope and infinite charge of the State wete disappointed. Famine, and mortality, the attendants of warre, with strange inundations, wrought likewise their part, as if conspirators of destruction, and all concur'd to make a dismall season.

This King domes miseries.

Many yeares it was not, ere *Swaine* King of *Danes*, returned to raise againe new summes, by new afflictions; and tormenting heere this poore turmoyled people, more then euer; receiues a fee for bloud-shed, to the summe of 48000 pounds; granted in the generall assembly of the States at *London*, and a peace, or rather paction of seruitude concluded; with quiet cohabitation, vse of like liberties, and a perfect vnion betweene the two Nations, confirmed by oathes of either part, and hostages deliuered of ours.

But this as a breathing time, scarce held out the yeare. When the occasion of greater mischiefes was giuen by a vniuersall massacre of the *Danes* suddenly heere contriued: and effected by the Kings commandement, vpon the suggestion of *Hune*, a great Commaunder, and a violent warrier of that time. Vrging the insolencie of the *Danes*, that now growne haughty with this peace; Committed many outrages, violating the Wiues and Daughters of great men, with many other intollerable disorders.

Such,

Such, and so suddaine was the generall execution of this act, throughout all parts of the kingdome at one instant, as shewed the concurrencie of an inueterate rankor, and incompatability of these two nations, impossible to be conioyned. So that neither Temples, Altars, Supplications, nor any band of aliance, were auaileable to saue them from slaughter. Wherein to incense the more their king, *Gunild*, his sister, a woman of masculine courage, who had a little before receiued Christendome, a mediator and pledge of the peace, hauing first her husband and sonne slaine in her sight, rather with a threatning, then appaled countenance, met her death, making imprecation for reuenge, and foretelling her bloud would, as it did, cost *England* deere.

The massacre of the *Danes*. *An.* 1002.

Gunild slaine.

Soone was the notice of this enormious act, giuen to *Swaine*, and as soone armed with rage and power, re-entred hee the kingdome, hauing now a fayrer shew to doe fowly, then euer wrong had made him a right, who had none before: and the people of the Land, not so forward to maintayne their act, as to commit it, rather were content to giue him the possession of their country, then that hee should win it: the greatest part of the Kingdome submitting themselues vnto him; onely the Citie of *London*, which *Ethelred* held fortified, made Noble resistance till hee left them; and conueyed himselfe first into the Isle of *Wight*, and after into *Normandie*, whither he had sent *Emma* his Queene, with their two sonnes, *Aelfrid* and *Edward*, before, from the rage of this tempest. But within two moneths he was recalled home by the people of *England*, vpon the death of *Swaine*, who at the point to haue beene crowned King, and had generally taken ostages and oathes of fealty, died suddenly: leauing his sonne *Knute* to succeed his fortunes, and accomplish what he intended.

Swain wins *England*.

Etheldred flies into *Normandie*.

Swaine death.

Ethelred returning, was soone furnisht with an Army, sets vpon *Knute* in *Lindsey*, where he lay with his fathers shipping, and Hostages, and draue him to take the seas: wherewith inraged, making about to *Sandwich*; hee miserably mangled, and dismembred those hostages, and so sent them home: himselfe, with the spoiles his father and he had gotten, returned to his Country, to make greater preparations for the prosecution of his purpose. *Ethelred* in the meane time, to increase the summe of reuengement with more wrath, at a generall assembly at *Oxford*, caused many of the *Danique* Nobility to be murthered: Among which were *Sigifrith*, and *Morchar*, Earles of *Northumberland*, whom the false *Edric* (who had a hand on each side for mischiefe) inuiting to his lodging, vnder pretence of feasting, barbarously caused to be slaine: their followers, after they had so long as they could desperately defended themselues and their maisters, fled into a Church, where they were with the same burnt. *Knute*, armed with the greatest of his owne and neighbours powers made his confederates, landed againe, within the yeare, at *Sandwich*, and without resistance, had all the West parts rendred vnto him, with pledges for their obedience, and furnishment with horse and armor. Here the false *Edric* leaues his Liege-lord, and yeelds vp forty ships, and his periur'd faith to *Knute*. *Ethelred*, languishing in minde and body, *Edmond* his sonne, surnamed *Ironside* (to oppose youth to youth) was imployed against this rabious inuador. A Prince worthy of a better time, and had he found faith, had made it so, and deliuered his Country at that turne, from the worst of miseries, the conquest by strangers.

Etheldred returnes.

Knute returnes.

Etheldreds death.

Knute. Edmond Ironside.

BVT now vpon the death of *Ethelred* (whose 37 yeares raigne, shewes hat infelicity shall haue time too much, and happinesse too little.) *Knute* was by most of the Clergie and Nobility chosen king: onely the Citie of *London*, with some of the Nobility there about, made election of *Edmond*, and furnished him with that power, as thereby, with the couragious ardour of his youth (which commonly is most in the first attempts) hee had the better in three imminent battels, within three moneths, and had likewise obtained the fourth at *Essendon* (likely to haue beene the last with the *Danes*) but that the disloyall *Edric* (late renouncing his new Lord, seeing *Edmonds* part in possibilitie to preuaile) againe betraied his trust, and withdrew himselfe, and

Edmond Ironside sonne to *Ethelred*, by his first wife *Ethelgina*. *An.* 1016.

and the charge he had, to the enemy. This fatal battel loſt *England*: here periſhed the beſt flower of honour it then had: Here amongſt the reſt was ſlaine, *Vlkill*, an Earle of *Eſſex*, of euer memorable worth, who had long ſtood vp for the Kingdome, and in the time of *Swaine*, was the firſt that ſhewed there was hope and poſſibility to quaile the enemy, had there beene an vnion in loyaltie.

Edmonds ſingle combate with *Knute*.

From this bloudy worke, *Edmond* eſcapes to *Gloceſter*, to recollect new forces, nor was hee ſo forſaken with this fortune, but that hee ſoone recouered another armie, to re-aſſaile the enemie, that might be idle vpon this victorie. But *Knute*, as prouident in the proſecution of his buſineſſe, as fortunate therein, makes after: Here, when both Armies were at the point to incounter, a motion of peace was propounded: Some ſay the two Kings, by ſingle combat conſented to decide their fortunes, and the ouer-commer to take all: and that (in an Iſle of the riuer *Seuern* their Armies on either ſhore, ſpectators of the act) they tried the maiſtery for the prize of a Kingdome.

Peace concluded.

After long and equall fight, finding each others worth, they caſt away their weapons, imbraced, and concluded the peace. But howſoeuer; it ſeemes (both ſides tyred with the miſerie of a conſuming warre, neuer like to be ended, but by the vtter extirpation of the one; and conſideting the danger of either, and incerraintie of the future) were eaſily perſwaded to imbracc a preſent agreement: which was made, by parting *England* betwixt them two, and confirm'd by Oath and Sacrament: putting on each others Apparell, and Armes, as a ceremonie to expreſſe the attonement of their mindes, as if they made tranſaction of their perſons each to other. *Knute* became *Edmond*, and *Edmond*, *Knute*.

England deuided between them.

A fatall exchange, for ſo free and magnanimous a Prince, as *Edmond*: who indeed, was now no more himſelfe; and being but halfe a King, was in ſo few dayes after, none: as makes this peace ſhew fouler then watre: for that, armed him for life, this expoſed him naked to death, which was ſhortly after treacherouſly giuen him at *Oxford*; ſome ſay, by the ſonne of *Edric* (as if to ſhew he would bee the heire of his father alſo in Treaſon) whereby both the hope, and the other halfe of *England* were vtterly loſt, as detetminable with his raigne: which (with all we haue elſe of his magnanimous actions) tooke vp ſcarce the circuit of one whole yeare: And yet had that been ſpace enough for glorie (whoſe meaſure is to be taken rather by the profundity, then the length, which ſeldome holds long and euen) could he haue had that cleere: And better for his renowne, to haue died at the battaile of *Eſſendon* with *England*, then diſcended to haue made it halfe *Denmarke*, and liue.

The death of King *Edmond Ironſide* at Oxford.

Knute.

An. 1018. *Knute* the firſt *Danique* King.

BVT by this meanes, *Knute* attained the abſolute dominion of the whole Kingdome, which hee gouerned with better Iuſtice then he gor ir, conforming his natiue roughneſſe, to a more ciuill, and regular faſhion of life: And to haue *England* ſee, that now he was hers; he ſends away his Nauie, and ſtipendary ſouldiers, home to their countries, and puts himſelfe wholy, vpon this people; taking the way of mildneſſe, a better meanes for his eſtabliſhment, then force: but the Land paid for the remuneration of his people, & this euacuation of Strangers, 83000 pounds of ſiluer; which it rather conſented to doe at once, then to haue them a daily burthen, to peſter the State for euer.

83000. pounds paide to King *Knute*, for euacuation of Strangers.

At his firſt comming to the Crowne, he ſought to rid himſelfe, as well of his friends, as of thoſe might prooue his enemies. *Edric*, who came firſt to ſalute him, ſole King of *England* (as if to tell, that he made him ſo) hee cauſed his head to be ſet on the higheſt patt of the Towre of *London*; therein performing his promiſe, of aduancing him aboue any Lord of the Land, and thereby diſcharged himſelfe of ſuch a debt; which, though he ſhould haue paide, would neuer yet bee held fully cleered: giuing a generall ſatiſfaction therby to the people, that reioyced to ſee Treaſon ſo iuſtly rewarded. Like compenſation had ſhortly after, the Eatles *Turkil*, & *Erick*, who being baniſhed the Land, were executed vpon their arriuall in *Denmarke*. But the loue, and high opinion of Iuſtice he got in theſe, were loſt againe in thoſe actions, wherein he tooke counſell

onely

onely of his feares, for the extirpation of all those of the Royall bloud of *England*; As of *Edwin*, and *Edward*, the sonnes of the late King *Edmond* (to whom appertained the moietie of the Kingdome by contract) and of *Edwin* his brother; which three, he sent to be murthered abroad, to beguile the rumor at home: But, which is strange; those times, though rough, affoorded not yet an instrument for the execution of his desire: and all these Princes were preserued, and conueyed out of danger by those, who should haue made them away. The two last were bred by *Salomou*, King of *Hungarie*, where *Edward* (suruiuing his brother) married *Agatha*, sister to that Queene, (and daughter to the Emperour *Henry* the second) by whom hee had two sonnes, *Emond* and *Edgar*, daughters, *Margaret* and *Christina*.

Edward married to *Agatha*, the Queene of *Hungaries* sister.

Aelfred, and *Edward*, sonnes of King *Ethelred*, by *Emme*, were preserued by *Richard*, Duke of *Normandie* their Vnkle, and so lay out of his way. This priuate iniustice (which often may be more in compassion, then hurt to the State) hee sought to recompence with all publique satisfactions: repairing the naufrage of the common-wealth (made by the rage of warre) both in ornament and order: erecting Churches and Monasteries, with large patents of prouisions; both for the expiation of his immanities fore-committed, and to memorize the places of his victories with his thankefulnesse to God. The Constitutions Ecclesiasticall and Ciuile, diuulged in the language of that time, testifie his tender piety, and care of Iustice: and are so full of religious admonitions, as it seemes he held, the best meanes to haue lawes obserued, was, by hauing them first enacted in the consciences of men. Amongst others, hee inflicted exact punishment on all intemperances of his people, and offences committed against publique manners. Seuere he was, but not cruell: few of his lawes sanguinarie, as being not the custome of the time: which though rough, yet found meanes to maintaine publique order, without that luctuall remedie of bloud. No punishments capitall, vnlesse conspiracies: the rest were all pecuniarie mulcts, banishments, bondage, or imprisonment. To shew his clemeucy, this (amongst many) is one example: there was a law, that *Whosoeuer had committed theft, and the goods found in his house, all his family were made bond, euen to the child in the cradle:* This he abrogates as most vniust, and ordaines, *That onely the malefactor, and such as should aide him, should endure the punishment: and that the wife (vnlesse the things stolne, were found vnder her locke) should not be guilty of her husbands offence.*

His erection of Churches, and of Church gouernment.

Thus was hee to his people, with whom, hee is sayd to haue so well cleered himselfe (howsoeuer he did with God) that he became King of their affections, as well as of their Countrie. And to maintaine this opinion, hee did many popular acts: as first all Rites of Honor and reuerence to the memorie of the late King *Edmond*, his confederate: besides, the executing all such as could bee found to haue had any hand in that murther. Then married he here at home, *Emme*, late wife to King *Ethelred* (though it were more for his honour then hers, to accept his bed, that had beene the persecutor of her husband and children) whereby hee held the Duke of *Normandie* from attempting any thing for his Nephewes, in regard, his sister might haue other by him.

Hauing thus established this mightie Kingdome, occasion prepares him another. The people of *Norway*, contemning the debilitie of their King, and conspiring to depose him, grew into faction: whereupon hee fastens; and with the great forces hee brought out of England, the might of money, and high estimation of his worthinesse, so preuailed, as hee soone obteyned that Kingdome; and was now the most renowned and potent Prince in all these parts of the world: intitled, King of *England*, *Denmarke* and *Norway*.

Knute King of *England*, *Denmarke*, and *Norway*.

Herewithall grew his magnificence, as wide as his power, and was especially extended to the Church, which hee laboured most to gratifie, either for the conscience of his deedes, or that his people, (generally addicted to deuotion) might be made the more his. And holding it not enough to powre out his immense bounty heere within the land, seekes to make *Rome* also feele the fulnesse thereof; whither he went in person, and performed many workes of charitie and honour; both there, and in all his voyage. Hee freed the *Saxon* schoole, his predecessors of

England had founded, from all imposition: as he did likewise all streights and passages, where trauailers were with rigor constrained to pay toll.

Of his entertainment at *Rome* with the Pope, *Conrade* the Emperour, and diuerse other Princes of the Christian world, himselfe writes to the Bishops and Nobility of *England*, and withall exhorts them very powerfully to haue an especiall regard to the due administration of Iustice, to all his subiects alike, without doing the least wrong for his gaine, hauing no neede to aduance his reuenue by sinne: And also charges them to see all *Churchscot* & *Romescot* fully cleered before his returne.

Knute the most absolute monarck of this kingdome, of any that was before him.

The actiue vertue of this Prince, being the mightiest, and most absolute Monarch that euer yet appeared in this Kingdome, the author of sect, and first of a new Gouernment, is such; as shewes hee striued by all worthie waies, to lay the groundworke of a State; which according to his frame, was liker to hold good to his posteritie, then not. And as likely was he, to haue beene the roote of a succession, spreading into many discents, as was afterward the *Norman*; hauing as plentifull an issue masculine, as he: besides, he raigned neere as long; farre better beloued; of disposition more bountifull, and of power, larger to doe good. But it was not in his fate; his children miscaried in the succession, and all this great worke fell in a manner with himselfe.

Harald.

An. 1038.

Arald, the eldest sonne of *Knute* (some write by his fathers ordinance, others by the election of the *Danique* Nobilitie, in an assembly at *Oxford*) was made King: whereas *Godwin* Earle of *Kent*, and the Nobility of *England*, would haue chosen *Hardiknute*, borne of Queene *Emme*, or else *Alfride*, the sonne of *Ethelred*, who is sayd to haue come out of *Normandy*, vpon the death of *Knute*, to claime the Crowne; But *Harald*, being at hand carried it; The first act of whose raigne, was the banishment, and surprizing all the Treasure of his step-mother Queene *Emme*: Then the putting out the eyes of *Alfried* her sonne, his compitor: and committing him to a loathsome prison, where he died. For which deed, the Earle *Godwyn* beares a foule marke, as betraying him. Queene *Emme* repaires to *Baldouin*, Earle of *Flanders*, her kinsman, where she remained during the raigne of *Harald*, which was but of foure yeares, and then with her sonne *Hardiknute* (who came out of *Denmarke*, as it seemes prepared for some thing else, then to visit her at *Bridges*) returned into *England*.

Harolds cruelltie.

Hardiknute.

An. 1041.

His *Hardiknute* inuested in the Gouernment, soone frustrated the hope and opinion fore-conceiued of him: and first in like sort beganne with that degenerous act of reuenge (wherein none are sayd so much to delight in, as women) causing the body of the late King to be vntomb'd, the head cut off, and throwne into Thames; Then makes inquisition for such as were guiltie of the death of *Alfride*, his brother by the mother: whereof Earle *Godwin* and the Bishop of *Worcester* are accused; The Bishop is disposest his Sea: and the Earle with a rich and rare deuised present, in forme of a ship of gold, appeased that furie: making protestation of his innocency before the whole Nobility, with whom in respect his deepe roote had spread so many branches, he stood firme, and all the blame was layde to the violence and rankor of the late king.

Besides the offending these great men, hee added a generall grieuance to the whole Kingdome, by a prodigall largesse, giuing to euery Mariner of his Nauy eight Markes, and to euery Maister tenne, which he imposed to bee paide by the State. But after hauing called home *Edward* his other halfe-brother, out of *Normandy*, hee liued not long, for farther violences; Dying suddenly the second yeare of his raigne, in the celebration of a marriage at *Lambeth* in his greatest iolity, not without suspition of poyson.

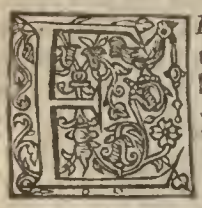
And

And with him ended the Gouernment of the *Danes* in *England* (hauing onely continued 26 yeares vnder these three last Kings) and that with out any cracke or noyse, by reason the nation had no predominant side, that might sway the State, in respect of the remission of their power home in the first yeare of *Knute*, and no great admission of others after: and that such, as were here before, were now so incorporated with the *English*, as they made one body: and most of them planted in the remoate parts of the Kingdome, that lay ouer against *Denmarke*: where by, that which with all the struggling, no power or diligence of man could resist, expired of it selfe: leauing *England* to a King of her owne, and *Denmarke* to ciuill discord about the succession; *Norwey* likewise returning obedience to a sonne of *Olaue*, recouered quietnesse, and a home-borne King.

The reason of the extinction of the *Danes* in *England*.

An. 1042.

Edward the Confessor.



DWARD (the sonne of *Ethelred*) is sent for into *Normandy*, and by the whole State elected, and Crowned King of *England*, at *Winchester*, by *Edsine* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Anno* 1042. being about forty yeares of age. *Godwin* Earle of *Kent*, was a principall agent in his preferment, but, for his owne ends. The Kingdome (as hauing deerly paide for the admission of strangers) ordained, that he should not bring any *Normanes* with him. The first Act he did, was the remission of the *Danegilt*, imposed by his Father, which amounted to forty thousand pounds yearely, and had beene payde for forty yeares past. He caused the Lawes to be collected, out of those of the *Mercians*, West *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, and to be written in Latine. He was a Prince most highly renowmed for his piety; and fit for no other, then the calme time he had. For hauing beene so long brought vp with the *Nunnes* at *Iumieges*, in *Normandy*, he scace knew to be a man, when he came into *England*. And to shew how little he vnderstood himselfe; they note, how in a great anger, he sayd to a base fellow, that disturbed his game in hunting, *I would punish thee, were I able*. And, as if he had vowed their continencie, with whom he was bred, he was so farre from knowing other women (either through conscience or debility) as his owne wife, after his death, protested her selfe free, from any carnall act done by him, and yet liued he (for the most part) with her in all formall shew of marriage.

Edward the Confessor.

An. 1042.

His continencie.

The soft simplicity of this King, gaue way to the greatnesse of the Earle *Godwin*, and his children, who for that he would seeme the especiall man in his preferment to the Crowne; and by matching his daughter *Edith* to him, swayed chiefly the wheele of that time: and yet not without opposition: For *Syward*, Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Leofrike*, Earle of *Hereford* (men of as great State and spirit) seeing him most for himselfe, became more for the King, and had their turne in performing very noble actions. Nor did their emulation, but much conduce to the present benefit both of the King, and State; For the Earle *Syward*, would not be behind hand, in effecting as braue deeds in the North, as *Harold*, Earle of *Westsex*, the sonne of the Earle *Godwin* performed, against the *Welsh*, in the West: For the first depriued of life, and Crowne, *Macbeth*, an vsurper, and inuested *Malcolin*, in the Kingdome of *Scotland*, the other defeited *Ris*, and *Griffine*, two brothers, Kings of *Wales*, and subdued that Prouince to this Crowne.

Earle *Godwins* greatnesse.

The Earles *Syward* and *Leofrike*, men of Noble actions.

Besides the Earle *Godwin*, had to struggle with an Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Robert*, a *Norman*, preferred, from a Monke, first to *London*, and after to that Sea, by the King, inwardly affecting most that nation, as being part of their bloud, and bred amongst them. Of whom it seemed (notwithstanding the former order taken to the contrary) he had many about his person, whose neerenesse, being strangers, whatsoeuer they did, could not auoide to be thought, to doe all offices against the Earle, and the *English* in generall: whereby, what went not right in the line of mens desires, was thought to be their cause. And in stomackes full charged, this occasion gaue more fire. *Eustace* Earle of *Bullogne*, who had married *Goda* the Kings sister, hauing beene at the Court, and returning into *France*, his Harbenger in taking vp lodgings at *Douer*, vpon his peremptory behauiour, was by a Citizen slaine; The Earle arriuing with all his traine, purfues,

Eustace Earle of *Bullogne*, married *Goda* the Kings sister.

purſues, and ſlue the homicide, with 18 other. The City ſeeing this tooke armes, and in the bickering, the Earle loſt 22. of his men, whereupon, backe he haſts to the King, aggrauates the inſolency of the Citizens ſo farre; that the Earle *Godwin* is ſent for, and commanded with a power of men, to make againſt the City of *Douer*, to chaſtice the people. The Earle (conſidering it was vpon the information of one ſide) aduiſed the King rather to ſend for the cheife of the City, to vnderſtand what they could ſay for themſelues, and accordingly to proceede, which (being taken, for a coldneſſe in the buſineſſe, and of fauour to his Countrymen) gaue the King and his enemies occaſion to ſuſpect his affection.

Earle *Godwins* inſurruction.

Shortly after, the Earle is ſummoned to an Aſſembly at *Gloceſter*, where neither he, nor any of his ſonnes would appeare; and ſuſpecting ſome practiſe againſt him by his enemies, raiſes forces, pretending to ſuppreſſe the *Welſh*, who were not found to offend; whereupon the Aſſembly remoues to *London*, ſummons him againe to make his apparance, to diſmiſſe his forces, and to come onely attended with twelue perſons. He ſends them word; to diſmiſſe his forces he was content, or any thing elſe the King would command him, ſo it were with the ſafety of his life and honour; but to come diſaccompanied, was for neither. Then was he commanded within fiue dayes to depart the Realme, which he did, and with *Touſtaine*, and *Swayne* his ſonnes, gets him into *Flaunders*, where *Touſtone* married the daughter of the Earle *Baldouin* the 5. *Harald* his eldeſt ſonne, departs into *Ireland*: the King puts from him the Queene, to be partaker of the diſgrace, and miſery of her houſe; who is deſcribed (by the writers of thoſe times) to haue beene a Lady of rare parts, excellently learned, beautifull, and as faire of minde as body. The Earle *Godwin* in this deſperate fortune (whilſt the *French* and his enemies poſſeſt the King) fell to Piracy, diſturbed the coaſts, approached *London*, by the Riuer; and being ſo popular, as no forces would oppoſe againſt him, made at length his owne peace with power; in ſuch ſort, as the *French* fearing reuenge, forſooke both the Court, and Kingdome.

The *French* forſake the Court, and Kingdome of *England*.

This (as fore-pointing to a ſtorme that was gathering on that coaſt) began the firſt difference with the *French* nation: which, thus acquainted with the diſtraction of the Kingdome. and factions of great men, wrought on thoſe aduantages, and were inſtruments to draw on the fatall enterprize that followed.

The weakneſſe of the King, and the diſproportionate greatneſſe of the Earle *Godwin*, being riſen vp from ſo great a fall (learning thereby, to looke better to his feete, and make his ſides ſtrong) increaſed theſe diſcontentments, and partialities in the State; wherein many acts of iniuſtice, by the ſway of power and paſſion, were committed; which did much blacken that time of peace, and made a good man (not by doing, but induring ill) held to be a bad King.

Queen *Emmes* affliction and tryall.

And it is ſayd, that *Emme*, the Queene mother, had her part of much affliction in his raigne, ſuffering both in her goods and fame: and now to purge her ſelfe of a ſcandall raiſed on her with *Alwyn* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſhe vnder-went the triall of *Fire-Ordeall* (which was to paſſe blind-fold, with bare feete, ouer certaine plough-ſhares, made red hote, and layd an vneuen diſtance one before the other) which ſhe ſafely performed. And the reaſon why, both her ſonne and the State ſo little reſpected this great Lady (whoſe many yeares had made her an actor in diuerſe fortunes) was, for that ſhe neuer affected King *Ethelred*, nor the children ſhe had by him: and for her marriage with *Knute*, the great enemy and ſubduer of the Kingdome, whom ſhe euer much more loued liuing, and commended dead.

It ſeemed theſe priuate grudges, with mens particular ends, held theſe times ſo buſied, that the publicke was neglected, and an iſſue-leſſe King, gaue matter for ambition and power, to build hopes and practiſes vpon: though for his owne part, he ſhewed to haue had a care for the ſucceſſion, in ſending for his Nephew *Edward*, intitled the Outlaw, with his children, out of *Hungary*. But *Edward*, ſhortly after his arriuall died, and *Edgar* his ſonne (ſurnamed *Atheling*) to ſay Prince *Edgar*) whom he had by his wife *Agatha*, daughter to the Emperour *Henry* the 2. who (either by reaſon of his youth, which yet was no barre to his right, or being borne and bred a ſtranger, little know-

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ing, or knowne to the Kingdom) had his claime neglected vpon the death of this *Pious* King. Which was *Anno* 1065. when he had raigned 24. yeares. His corps was interred in the Church of *Westminster*, which he had newly founded.

King *Edward*, founder of *Westminster* Church.

Harald the second.

Harald the second.

An. 1065.

AND *Harald*, sonne to the Earle *Godwin* (the next day after) was preferred to the Crowne, wherher by any title he might pretend from the *Danique* Kings, as discended from that nation (and as some report, sonne to *Githa*, sister to *Swaine*) or by meere election of the greater part of the Nobility, we cannot say: but it seemes, the pressing necessity of the time, that required a more man, to vndergo the burthen of warre, and that trouble, the world was like to fall into, by reason of the claimes now made, both by the *Dane*, and *Norman*, cast it suddenly vpon him; as the most eminent man of the Kingdome, both by the experience of his owne deseruings, and the strength also of his owne, and the alliance of his wife *Algith*, sister of *Edwin* and *Morckar*, Earles of *Yorkeshire* and *Chester*. Neither did he faile (but in fortune) to make good this election; taking all the best courses, both for the well-ordering of the State, and all prouisions for defence, that a politicke and actiue Prince could do. But being to deale in a broken world, where the affections of men were all disioynted, or dasht with the terror of an approching mischiefe, failing (as vsually is seene, in these publicke feares) both in their diligence, and courage to withstand it, soone found more then enough to do.

And the first man, which beganne to disturbe his new gouernment, was his owne yonger brother *Toustayne*, who (in the time of the late King *Edward*, hauing the Gouernment of *Northumberland*) was for his pride and immanities shewed in those parts, banished the Kingdome; and now by reason of his former conceiued hatred against his brother, easily set on, by the Duke of *Normandy*, and *Baldouin*, Earle of *Flanders* (whose two daughters the Duke and he had married) assailes first the Isle of *Wight*, and after sets vpon the coast of *Kent*, whence he was chased by the power of *Harald*, and forced to withdraw into the Northern parts; and there seeking to land, was likewise repulsed, by the Earles *Morchar* and *Edwyn*. Then craues he aide of the *Scots*, and after of *Harald*, surnamed *Harfager*, King of *Norwey*, being then taking in the Orchades, and exercising piracy in those parts; whom he induced with all his forces to inuade *England*. And landing at *Tinmouth* (discomfeiting their first incounters) they marched into the heart of the Kingdome without resistance. Neere *Stamford*, King *Harald* of *England* met them with a puissant Army; and after long and eager fight, ended the day with victory, and the death of his brother *Toustayne*, and the King of *Norwey*.

The Kings brother *Toustayne* banished.

His death with the King of *Norwey*.

But from hence was he called with his wearied and broken forces, to a more farall businesse in the South. For now *William* Duke of *Normandy* (pretending a right to the Crowne of *England*, by the testament of the late King *Edward* his Kinsman; vpon the aduantage of a busie time, and the disfurnishment of those parts) landed at *Pemsey*, not farre from *Hastings* in *Sussex*: neere to which place, was tried by the great Assize of Gods iudgement in battell (the right of power) betweene the *English* and *Norman* Nation. A battell (the most memorable of all other) and howsoeuer miserably lost, yet most nobly fought, on the part of *England*; and the many wounds of *Harald* there slaine, with 60 thousand 9 hundred 74 of the *English*, shew; how much was wrought to haue saued their Countrey, from the calamity of forraine seruitude.

This Battell was fought in *Sussex*, 7 miles from *Hastings*, vpon Saterday the 14 of October 1066.

The Kings valor and death.

And yet, how so great a Kingdome as *England* then was, could with one blow be subdued by so small a Prouince as *Normandy* (in such sort, as it could neuer after come to make any generall head against the Conqueror) might seeme strange; did not the circumstances fore-noted, and other concurrent causes, hereafter to be declared, giue vs faire and probable reasons thereof: Besides, the indisposition of a diseased time (as it is described by such as liued neerest it) may giue vs great euidence in this examination. For they say, the people of this Kingdome, were (by their being, secure from their former enemie the *Dane*, and their long peace; which had held, in a manner from

Willia Malmsbury.

William Malmsburie.

from the death of King *Edmond Ironside*, almost fifty yeares; growne neglectine of Armes, and generally debaushed with luxurie, and idlenesse: the Cleargie licentious, and onely content with a tumultuarie learning: The Nobility giuen to Gluttonie, Venery and Oppression: The common sort to Drunkennesse, and all disorder: And they say, that in the last action of *Harald* at *Stamford*, the braueſt men perished, and himselfe growing insolent vpon the victory (retaining the spoyles, without distribution to his souldiers, not inured to be commanded by Martiall discipline) made them discontent, and vnruly: and comming to this battell with many mercinary men, and a discontented Army, gaue great occasion to the lamentable losse thereof.

Besides, the *Normans* had a peculiar fight with long bowes, wherewith the *English* (then altogether vnacquainted) were especially ouerthrowne. And yet their owne Writers report, how the maine Battallion of the *English* (consisting of Bils, their chiefe and antient weapon) held in a body so close lockt together, as no force could dissolue them: till the *Normans* (faining to flye) drew them to a disordered a route, And so they excuse the fortune of the day.

King *Harold* buried at *Waltham.*

His Issue.

The body of King *Harald*, which at the sute of his mother (who sent two Monkes of the Abbey of *Waltham* to intreate the same of the Conqueror) was after much search, amongst the heapes of the dead found, and interred, in the same Abbey, which himselfe had founded. He was a King, who shewes vs nothing but misery, raigned least, and lost most of any other. He left foure sonnes, *Godwin*, *Edmond*, *Magnus*, and *Wolfe*: the two eldest fled after this battell into *Ireland*, and from thence made some attempts vpon the Westerne coasts of *England*, but to little effect. And here ended the line of the *Saxon* Kings, about fiue hundreth yeares after the first comming in of *Hingist*, and their plantation in this Kingdome.

And thus haue I in the streighteſt course (wherein, that vneuen Compasse of Antiquity could direct me) got ouer the wide, and intricate passage of those times that lay beyond the worke I purpose more particularly to deliuer. And now,

The Life and Raigne of William I.

An. 1066.

I Come to write of a time, wherein the State of *England* receiued an alteration of Lawes, Customes, Fashion, manner of liuing, Language-writing, with new formes of Fights, Fortifications, Buildings, and generally an innouation in most things, but Religion. So that from this mutation, which was the greateſt it euer had, we are to begin, with a new accompt of an *England*, more in dominion abroad, more in State, and ability at home, and of more honour, and name in the world, then heretofore: which by being thus vndone, was made, as if it were, in the fate thereof to get more by loosing, then otherwise. For as first, the Conquest of the *Danes*; brought it to the intyrest Gouernment it euer posseſt at home, and made it most redoubted of all the Kingdomes of the North: so did this of the *Norman* by comming in vpon it, make a way to let out, and stretch the mighty armes thereof ouer the Seas, into the goodly Prouinces of the South; For before these times, the *English* Nation, from their first establishment in this Land, about the space of 500. yeares, neuer made any sally out of the Isle, vpon any other part of the world, but busied at home in a deuided State, held a broken Gouernment with the *Danes*, and of no great regard, it seemes, with other Nations, till *Knute* lead them forth into the Kingdome of *Norway*, where they first shewed effects of their valour, and what they would be, were they imployed.

Englands territories ouershootes the Ocean.

But the *Normans*, hauing more of the Sunne, and ciuility (by their commixtion with the *English*) begat smoother fashions, with quicker motions in them then before. And being a Nation free from that dull disease of drinke, wherewith their former Conquerours were naturally infected, induced a more comely temperance, with a neerer regard of reputation and honour. For where as before, the *English* liued loose, in little homely cottages, where they spent all their reuenewes in good fare, caring for little other

other gaiety at all. Now after the *Norman* manner, they build them goodly Churches, and stately houses of stone, prouide better furnishments, erect Castles, and Towers in other sort then before. They inclose Parkes for their priuate pleasure; being debard the generall liberty of hunting, which heretofore they inioyed: whereupon all the termes of building, hunting, tooles of workemen, names of most handy-crafts appertaining to the defences and adornements of life, came all to be in *French*, And withall, the *Norman* habits, and fashion of liuing, became generally assumed, both in regard of nouelty, and to take away the note of difference, which could not be well lookt on, in this change.

And though the body of our language remained in the *Saxon*, yet it came so altered in the habit of the *French* tongue, as now we hardly know it, in the auntient forme it had; and not so much as the Character wherein it was written, but was altred to that of the *Roman*, and *French*, now vsed. But to the end, we may the better know the man, and the nation that thus subdue vs; we must take our course, vp to the head of their originals. The *Normans*, we find to haue issued out of *Norway* and *Denwarke*, and were of like maners, as the rest of those *Northerne* countries: which by reason of the apt mixture of their Phlegmatique and Sanguine complexions, with their promiscuous ingendring, without any tye of marriage, yeelded that continuall surchargement of people, as they were forced to vnburthen themselues on other Countries, wheresoeuer their violence could make them roome. And out of this redundancy, *Roul*, or *Rou*, a great Commander amongst them, furnished a robustious power, in the time of King *Alfrid*, and first landed in *England* (that euer lay in the Reade to all these inuadors) where finding no roome empty, nor any imployment, was content (vpon some reliefe receiued) to vse his forces otherwhere; which he did against *Rambalt*, Duke of *Frize*, and *Reignier* Duke of *Chaumont*, and *Hennalt*: with whom he had many violent incounters, and committed great spoiles in their Countries. Which done; he passed along the coast of *Fraunce*, entred the mouth of *Seine*, and sackt all the Countrey vp to *Roan*: where the people hauing beene lately before miserably afflicted by *Hasting* (another inuador of the same Nation) were so terrified by the approach of these new forces, that the Archbishop of *Roan*, by the consent of the people, offered him the obedience of that Citty, and the Countrey about, on condition, he would defend them, and minister Iustice according to the Lawes of CHRIST, and the Customes of the Countrey. For *Charles* the *Simple*, then King of *Fraunce*, yeelding no present succour (being otherwise imbroiled about the right of his Crowne) gaue him the opportunity to plant in that place, and to grow so powerfull, as shortly after he attempted the Conquest of *Paris*, and gaue many notable defeits to the *French* Leaders. So that in the end, *Charles* was faine to buye his peace with the price of an alliance, and the whole Countrey of *Nuestria* (or *Westrish*) which of the *Normans*, was after called *Normandy*. And thereupon *Roul* became a Christian, and baptized, had the name of *Robert*, giuen by *Robert*, brother to *Eudes* late King of *Fraunce*, who then stood in competition for that Crowne with *Charles* the *Simple*: and is sayd to haue vnder-aided *Roul* secretly, of purpose to make him friend his deseignes; though after he vrged it in an article against *Charles*, the giuing away his Countrey, and the fauouring of strangers.

And thus came *Roul* to establish a State to his posterity, ordering the same with that iudgement and equity, as he left his name in a perpetuall reuerence, and his successors a firme foundation to plant vpon. From him, in a direct line, descended sixe Dukes of *Normandy* in the space of 120. yeares: *William*, 1. *Richard* 1. *Richard* 2. who had two sonnes, *Richard* and *Robert*, that successiuely inherited the Dukedome.

Robert after he had gouerned eight yeares (either meerely for deuotion, which charitie ought rather deeme) or expiation for some secret guilt, wherewith his conscience might stand charged, about his brothers death (which beeause it was vntimely, might be thought vnnaturall) resolues to visite the Holy Sepulchre. And acquainting his Nobility therewithall, was by them much diswaded, in regard he had no issue: and for that (already they sayd) *Alain*, Earle of *Britaine*, and the Earle of *Burgogne*, were in contestation, who should succeed him in the Dutchie: so that vpon his death, and their

Malmsbury.
Mauricius, Bishop of *London* *An. Dom.* 1087. new built the Church of S. *Paule* in *London*, of stone, brought out of *Normandy*.
The Charter of *William* 1. grãted to this Church, see the Appendix
Before this time the Churches were most of Timber.
William 1. built the white Tower, afterwards walled & incastelled underneath by *William* 2. and *Henry* 1.
The *Saxon* habit, and Characters first altered.
The Originall of the *Normans* *Roul*, or *Rou*, the first *Norman* that landed in *Englãd*.
The History of *Normand*.
Roul, the first Conqueror of *Normandy* frõ the *French*, calling it *Norman*.

King *Williams* Pedigree.

their ſtrife; the Country was like, to become a prey to the ſouldier, from which, in conſcience he was bound, by his beſt meanes to ſecure it. The Duke willed them to bee content: I haue (ſaid he) a little Baſtard, of whoſe worthineſſe, I haue great hope, and I doubt not, but he is of my begetting: him will I inueſt in the Dutchie as mine heire: And from hence forth I pray you take him for your Lord. The Earle of *Brittaine* (notwithſtanding his competition) to ſhew the affiance I haue in him I will conſtitute his gouernour, and Seneſchall of *Normandie*; the King of *France* ſhalbe his Guardian, and ſo I will leaue him to God, and your loyalties.

Shortly after, the Biſhops and Barons did their homage to this baſe ſonne, named *William*, who was the ſixt Duke of *Normandie* after *Roule*, begotten on *Arlette*, a meane woman of *Falaiſe*. And Duke *Robert* taking his intended iourney, deliuers the Child with his owne hand, to *Henrie* the firſt, King of *France*: whom before hee had mainely aided in preſeruing his Crowne (left him by his father King *Roberts* Teſtament) againſt his elder brother, and his mother *Conſtance*, which with a great ſide of Nobility, ſtood for the right of *Primogeniture*, according to the cuſtome of *France*: And therefore might the more preſume (if good turnes done to Princes could weigh ſo much, as their ſelfe-reſpects would not turne the skale) to haue had a faire difcharge of his truſt; and him for a Protector, whoſe power was beſt able to bee ſo. And cauſing the Childe to doe homage for his Duchie of *Normandie*, commits him to his Royall faith; departs his Court, and ſhortly after his life, in *Aſia*. Whereupon his ſucceſſor, but nine yeares of age, became obnoxious to all the miſeries that afflict Princes in their pupillage: beſides the reproach of his birth; which though his honour and vertue might get ouer, yet lay it euer a barre in his way, and hindred his ſtanding cleere, ſtood he neuer ſo high.

The Nobles of *Normandie* ſoone (after his fathers death, by much intreaty, got him out of the *French* Kings hands) thinking the hauing him amongſt them, would adde more to his Counſellors, and ſuch as were in office: and the State of of a Court, awe his State the better. But ſoone they found, the hauing his perſon (without his power) was, but to put them out, into more discord, and faction.

For preſently followed the murthering, and poyſoning of Gouernors, diſplacing Officers, intruſion, ſupplantation, ſurprizings, and recouerings of his perſon, by a Nobilitie, ſtubborne, haughtie, and incompatible of each others precedencie or neereneſſe. But this was the leaſt, as being done all for his perſon. Now followed more daungerous practiſes againſt him. His right was quarrelled by competitors, cleere in bloud, and great in meanes. Whereof the firſt (though farthest off in diſcent) was *Roger de Treſny*, bringing a faire line from *Roule*, and much proofe of his owne worth, by hauing gotten great experience, in the *Sarazine* warre in *Spaine*: whereby vpon his returne, entertayning and feaſting the great, and eſpeciall men of worth; hee was growen powerfull, well followed, and beloued of many: in ſo much that at length, meaſuring his owne heigth, hee vrges, *What wrong it was that a Baſtard, and a Childe, ſhould bee preferred before him, in the ſucceſſion of the Dutchie, his Auncestors had noblie gotten: and what a ſhame the* Normans *(a people of that worth) would indure to bee ſo gouerned; ſeeing they had others of the renowned race of* Roule, William *and* Richard, *Dukes* of *Normandie*, *of a lawfull and direct line, if they held him vnworthie to inherite the State.* And being impatient (as is ambition that euer rides without raines) of any long delay, brings his claime to a ſtrong battaile in the field, which by the valiancie of *Roger de Beaumount*, was viterly deſeited, and himſelfe with his two brethren ſlaine. Whereby all feare, that way, was extinquiſhed, and the reputation of the Duke and his, ſo much aduanced, as the King of *France* (notwithſtanding his tutelarie charge) tooke from him the Caſtle of *Thuilliers*, and demoliſht it, pretending the inſolencies committed there, by the Garriſons, vpon his ſubiects: and makes ſhew as yet, onely to keepe things euen. But long it was not, ere hee plainely bewrayed his minde; aiding in perſon *William* Earle of *Arques*, brother to Duke *Robert*, and ſonne to *Richard* the Second making his claime to the Dutchie, & brings a mightie army to ſuccour *Arques*, affieged by Conte *Guiffard*, the Dukes Generall; who

(by

(by a ſtratagem ſo trayned the *French* into an ambuſh) as hee ouerthrew their whole power, and returnes the King to *Paris*, with great loſſe, and diſhonor: leauing (*Arques* the firſt *Arch* of triumph) to this Conquerour, not yet ariued to ſeuenteene yeares of age; and the diſcomfeited competitor (to ſeeke his fortunes with *Euſtace* Earle of *Bologne*) finding vpon his returne little grace in Court; where fortune euer altets credite, and few regard men ouerthrowne.

This ſtorme ouerpaſt, another ſucceeds more dangerous; there liued with Duke *William*, a young Lord of like yeares, named *Guy* ſonne to *Regnalt*, Earle of *Borgogne*, and *Alix*, daughter to *Richard* the ſecond, who comming to bee ſenſible of his intereſt, was aduiſed by ſome ſtirring ſpirits, to attempt for the Duchie, which they ſaid appertained to him in right, and was wrongfully vſurped by the Baſterd: And to aduance his purpoſe, there happens deadly hoſtility betweene two of the greateſt Lords of *Normandie* (*Vicomte Neele*, and the Earle of *Beſſin*) whoſe debate, Duke *William* did not, or could not pacifie. This *Guy* (lately made Earle of *Bryorn*, and *Vernon*, interpoſed himſelfe to compoſe this diſcord; and by the aduice of *Grimoult de Pleſſis* (a principall mouer in this worke) ſo wrought, that either of theſe Lords, turned the point of their malice vpon him, who in their quarrell fauouring neither, made both to hate him; and eaſily conſpire with *Guy* to murther him at vnawares: which they had done, had not a certaine Foole (whom, for being held a naturall, they ſuſpected not) noting their preparations, got away in the dead of the night to *Valogne*, knocking and crying at the gate, till hee was admitted to the Dukes preſence, whom he willed in haſt to flie, or he would bee murthered. The Duke ſeeing the Foole in this affright, thought dangers were not to be weighed by the worth of the reporter, but by their likelyhood; and knowing his fortune was liable vnto all ſuddaine aſſaſinations; inſtantly takes horſe and all alone poſtes to *Fallaiſe*, his eſpeciall place of ſtrength: on the way, his horſe being tyred, about breake of daie, he comes to a little village called *Rye*, where, by good fortune, the gentleman of the place, was ſtanding at his doore readie to goe abrode; of whom the Duke enquires the next way to *Fallaiſe*: The Gentleman perceiuing who hee was (though as then very vnwilling to be knowne) humblie craues the cauſe of his ſo ſtrange and vntimely riding alone: The Duke ſeeing himſelfe diſcouered, tels the occaſion: the gentleman (whoſe name was *Robert de Rye*) furniſhes him with a freſh horſe, and ſends two of his ſonnes to conduct him the neereſt way to *Fallaiſe*: No ſooner was he gone out of ſight, but after poſt the conſpirators, enquiring of the ſame Gentleman, whether hee ſaw the Duke; who anſwered, that hee was gone a little before, ſuch a way (ſhewing them a diuers path) and rode on with them, offering his ſeruice to Conte *Beſſin*; where they made themſelues ſo poweiſull, as the Duke withdrew him to *Roan*, and from thence to the King of *France*, to craue his aide, putting him in minde of, the faithfull ſeruice his father had done him: how he was his homager, vnder his tutelarie charge, and had no other ſanctuary of ſuccour to flie vnto, in this caſe of his mutinous and turbulent Nobilitie; the effect whereof was of dangerous conſequence to that Crowne. And ſo farre vrged the importancie of reliefe, as the King at length (who ſeemes was yet content to haue him bee, though not too ſtrong, and peraduenture rather him then his competitor *Guy de Burgogne*) aided him in perſon with a puiſſant Army againſt theſe competitors, whom they found in the vale of *Dunes* with as great power and reſolution to bid them battaile, as they to aſſaile them. Here one *Guilleſon*, Vncle to *Vicomte Neel* by the mother, forced his horſe into the battailion of the *French*, and made at the King, and ſtrake him downe with his Launce: which Conte Saint *Paule* perceiuing, haſtes to incounter him with that violence, as both fell to the earth: but *Guilleſon* ſoone gets vp, and though his horſe was ſlaine vnder him, by *Chaſtillon*, hee eſcapes out of the preſſe, and after fled into *Apulia* with others. The King recouered, and more inkindled with this affront, ſpared not his perſon, to auenge his wrath. Duke *William* likewiſe (as it ſtood him moſt vpon) ſhewed effects of an all-daring and magnaninous Prince. And yet had not *Ralfe de Teſſon* beene falſe to his fellowes to recouer faith with him, he had not carried (as he did) the victory.

A Conſpiracie diſcouered ſtrangely.

 After

After which, diuers of the conspirators (who had too great hearts to yeeld) passed the mountaines into *Italie*, to *Robert Guiscard* their Countryman (who of a priuate Gentleman, was now by his prowesse, become Lord of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicile*, within the space of twelue yeares) to whom they were exceeding welcome, and especially *Guilleson*, for hauing incountred with a King in the middest of his battaile, which made him of wider note. But the better to know, what starre these *Norman* spirits had, as borne for the reuolutions of those times, it shall not lie out of our way to shew, how they first came into *Italie*, vpon this occasion.

There happened a debate betweene one *Osmond Drengot*, and *William Repostell*, Gentlemen both valiant, and of great parentage in *Normandie*, who as they hunted in the forrest of *Rouuerie* (neere *Rouan*) with Duke *Robert*; *Drengot* slue *Repostell*, in his presence, and fearing the fury of the Duke, and the friends of the slaine, fled to *Rome*, and so to *Naples*, where hee, with his small company of *Normans* that followed him, was entertained of the Duke *de Bencuento*, to serue him against the *Sarasins*, and *Affricans*, which miserably infested *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, at that time. The bruite of which entertainement was no sooner spred in *Normandy*, but diuers valiant Gentlemen and Souldiers, allured with the hope of good fortune, passed the Alpes, got to their nation, and so wrought, as they grew formidable to these *Barbarians*, and in the end, vtterly chaced and extinguished them. The *Calabrians* and *Apulians*, seeing themselues ridde of their enemies, would haue beene glad likewise (their turne serued) to bee rid of their friends, and either vsing them, more vnkindely then of custome, or they presuming more of desert, turned their swords vpon their intertayners. And first got a litrle place, which they fortified for the *Rendeuous*, and receipt of booty: And so augmenting still their winnings, obteyned Territories, Cities, and Fortresses. After the death of *Drengo*, succeeded other gallant leaders, and at length *Tancred*, *Signior de Hauteuille*, in Constantine, with his twelue sonnes, came into *Apulia*, of whom his third sonne *Robert*, surnamed *Guiscard*, attained the commaund, and was a man of a faire stature, cleere iudgement, and indefatigable courage. Hee conquered all *Apulia*, *Callabria* and *Cicile*, passed the Sea into *Greece*; releeued *Michaell Diecrisius*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, defeited *Nicephorus* that vsurped the Empire, and shortly after *Alexius* attempting the like: and in one yeare vanquished two Emperours, the one of *Greece*, the other of *Germanie*: Swayed the whole Estate of *Italie*, and was in a faire way to haue attained the Empire of *Constantinople* for himselfe, had hee not died in the expedition.

Beomond his eldest sonne, by his first wife, became after Prince of *Antioch*, and is much renowned in the holy warres. *Roger* (of his second marriage with the daughter of the Prince of *Salerno*) succeeded in the States of *Italie*, as more theirs by birth and bloud. His daughters were all highly matried; Thus from a priuate Gentleman, came this famous *Norman* to leaue a succession of Kings, and Princes after him, and died the same yeare as did this *William*, his concurrent in the loue and fauour of fortune. And to this man fled all the discontented and desperate *Normans* during these ciuill warres the Duke had with so many competitors: and euery ouerthrow hee gaue them, augmented *Guiscards* forces in *Italie*; and especially this battaile of *Dunes*; which ended not the Dukes trauailes, for *Guy de Burgogne* escaping the fight, fortified the Castles of *Briorn* and *Verneuille*, but in the end was faine to render them both, and himselfe, to the Dukes mercie, and became his pencioner, who was his competitor; which act of clemency in the Duke, brought in many other to submit themselues; whereby they re-obteyned their segniories, but had their Castles demolished.

Hauing ended this worke, new occasion to keepe him in action, was ministred by *Geoffry Martle*, Earle of *Aniou*, who warring vpon the *Poictouins*, incroached also vpon his neighbours States, and vsurped *Alenson*, *Dampfront*, and *Passais*, members of the Dutchy of *Normandie*: which to recouer, the Duke leauies an Armie, and first got *Alenson*, where (for that he was opprobriously skorned by the besieged who, when they saw him, would cry *La Pel*, *La Pel*, in reproach of the basenesse of his mother, and the trade of the place of his birth) hee shewed extreame cruelty. Then layes he siege

to

to *Dampfront*; which to releeue, Conte *Martel* comes with his greatest forces: and the Duke to take notice of his strength, sends out *Roger de Mongomerie*, with two other knights to deliuer this message to the Earle, *That if he came to victuall* Dampfronte, *he should finde him there the Porter to keepe him out*: whereto the Earle returnes his answere: *Tell the Duke, to morrow by daie breake, hee shall haue mee there on a white horse, readie to giue him the Combate, and I will enter* Dampfront *if I can; And to the end hee shall know me, I will weare a shield* d'or, *without any* deuise.

Roger replies, *Sir you shall not neede to take that paines, for to morrow morning, you shall haue the Duke in this place, mounted on a bay horse; And that you may know him, hee shall weare on the point of his Launce, a streamer of taffata, to wipe your face.* Herewith returning, each side prepares for the morning: when the Earle, busie in ordering his battailes, was aduertised by two horsemen, that came crossing the field, how *Dampfronte*, for certaine was rendred to the Duke; whereupon in great rage, hee presently departs with his Army: whereof a part, was (in passing a streight) cut off, by *Viconte Neel*, who for that seruice, redeemed his former offence, and was restored to the Dukes fauour, whom euer after hee faithfully serued. Those of *Dampfronte*, desperate of succour, presently yeelde themselues to the Duke, who with his ingines and forces, remooues from thence to *Hambrieres*, a frontier Towne of Conte *Martels*, and by the way (had it not beene by himselfe discouered) hee had beene vtterly ouerthrowne by an ambush, which gaue him much to doe, and lost him verie many braue men. Whetewith hee grew so inraged, that hee rushed into the troupes of his enemies; made at Conte *Martel*, stracke him downe with his sworde, claue his helmet, and cut off an eare: but yet hee escaped out of the preasse, though diuers were taken, and the *Aniouuins* vtterly defeited.

Whilst thus hee was trauailed with an outward enemy, two more, were found at home, to conspire against him. *William Guelan*, Earle of *Mortagne*, discended from *Richard* the second. And *William* Earle of *Eu*, and *Montreul*, issuing from *William*, the brother of the same *Richard*, and of *Esselin*, Countesse of *Montreul*: the first vpon suspition, the other vpon proofe, of an intention, was banished, and their estates seized: the Earldome of *Mortaigne* he gaue to *Robert*: that of *Eu* to *Odo* (after Bishop of *Bayeux*) both his brethren by the mother. These assaults from abroade, these skornes, conspiracies, and vnder-workings at home, he passed before he was full 22 yeares of age: and thus his enemies made him, that sought to vndoe him. But now, more to vnderset and strengthen his State, against future practises, hee conuokes an assemblie of his Prelates, Barons, and Gentlemen, causing them to receiue their oath of Fealtie, and raze their Castles, which done, he married *Matilde*, the daughter of *Baldouin* the fift Earle of *Flaunders*, but not without contrast and trouble: for his Vncle *Mauger*, Arch-bishop of *Roan*, excommunicates him, for matching within the forbidden degrees of kindred: she being daughter to *Elinor*, daughter to *Richard* the second, and so his fathers sisters daughter. To expiate for which offence (vpon a dispensation from Pope *Victor*) they were enioyned the building of certaine Hospitals for blind people: and two Abbeyes, the one for men, the other for women: which were erected at *Caen*.

The Duke marries *Matilde* daughter of *Baldouine* the fift Earle of *Flanders*.

This match, and the ouer-matching his enemies, set him so high a marke of enuie in the eye of *France*, which naturally loued not the *Normans* (whom in reproach they vsually called *Trewans*) as they easily incensed their King, who of himselfe was forward enough, to abate a power, growne so out of proportion with the rest of the Princes of his Dominions, to finde a quatrell (which confiners easily doe) to set vpon him: and to make it looke the fairer, pretends to correct the insolencies of the *Normans* committed on his territories, and to releeue Count *Martel*, oppreft by the Duke; besides alleadging, *It concerned him in honour and iustice, to haue that Prouince, which held of his Crowne, to bee gouerned by a Prince of lawfull bloud, according to Christian order and Lawes Ecclesiasticall*: And therefore resolueth vtterly to exterminate the Duke, and establish a legittimate Prince in the Dutchie. For which effect, two armies are gathered from all parts of his Kingdome; the one sent along

The reasons why the King of France warres with the *Normans*.

along the riuer *Sein*, the other into the Country of *Bessin*, as meaning to incompasse him.

The Duke likewise deuides his forces into two parts: sends his brother *Odo*, Earle of *Eu*, *Walter Guifford* Earle of *Longueuill*, and others with the one, to the Country of *Caux*; himselfe with the other takes towards *Eureux* (to make head to the King that was at *Mante*) and withdrawes all cattle and prouisions out of the flat Country, into Cities and Fortresses, for their owne store, and disfurnishment of the enemie. The Kings army marching from *Beauuois*, to *Mortimer*, and finding there a fat Country full of all prouisions, betooke them to make good cheere, and rests there all that night; thinking the *Norman* forces were yet with the Duke at *Eureux*; which, the army in *Caux*, conducted by *Odo* vnderstanding, marched all night, and by breake of day, gaue them so hot an alarme, and so sodaine, as put them all in rout, leauing horse, and armour, and all to the assaylants; who made such a distruction of them, as of forty thousand, not the fourth part escaped.

The defeiture of the Armie of the King of *France*, by the *Normans*.

With this defeiture, the King of *France* is againe returned home, with great rage and griefe, and the Duke, with the redemption of the prisoners, recouers his peace, and the Castle of *Thuilliers*, taken from him in his vnder-age. Cont *Martell* though much dismayd, with the Kings ouerthrow, yet leaues not to make some attempts for the recouering his Townes; but with no successe. The Duke he saw was to well beloued & followed, for him to do any good without a stronger arme. Wherfore the next spring, he goes, againe to importune the King of *France*, to aide him against the Duke: who (he said) *Was now growne so insolent vpon this peace, and the victorie he had stolne, and not wonne, that there was no liuing for his neighbours neere him*: Besides, the *Normans* had the *French* in such derision, and base esteeme, as they made their act (at *Mortimer*) their onely sport, and the subiect of their rimes: as if a King of *France*, vpon the losse of a few men, was retired, and durst not breake a dishonourable peace.

With which instigation, and being stung with the touch of reproach, hee raises another Army far mightier then before, wherein were three Dukes, and twelue Earles, and notwithstanding the sollemne peace made, and so lately sworne with the Duke, hee enters *Normandie* in the haruest time, ouer-runnes and spoiles all the Country, along the Coast to *Bessin*: from whence marching to *Bayeux*, and *Caen*, with purpose to passe the riuer *Dine* at *Varneuille*, to destroy the Countries of *Auge*, *Liseux*, and *Roumoys*, euen to *Roan*: and finding the case-way long, and the bridge narrow, caused his vantguard to passe ouer first: and, to secure his *Arierguard*, conducted by the Duke of *Berry*, himselfe stayes behind in *Caen*, till his people, and their carriages were passed. Duke *William*, whom (all this while, stores his fortresses with men and victuall) makes himselfe as strong in the Towne of *Falaise*, as he could; hath no army in the field, but a running campe to be readie to take all aduantages: lets the fury of the storme spend it selfe, and hauing aduertisement of this passage, marched all night with 10 thousand men, and in the morning early, sets vpon the *Arierguard*, with so sodaine a cry and fury, as they who were before on the Case-way hearing this noise behinde, thrust forward their fellowes, hasting to get ouer the bridge, with such a crowd and presse, as they brake it, & many were drownd in the riuer. They who were gotten ouer, could not returne to aide the rest; nor the King (by reason of Marishes on both sides) yeeld any succour to his people; but stood a spectator of their slaughter, and the taking of fixe of his Earles, of whom one was the exiled Earle of *Eu*, whom the King (fauouring his great worth) had made Conte *De Soissons*.

The Armie of the King of *France* ouerthrowne at *Varneuille* by the *Normans*.

The griefe of this ouerthrow, shortly after gaue the King of *France* his death, and the Duke of *Normandy* a ioyfull peace, which hee nobly imployed in the ordering and adorning his State: building, endowing, and decking Monasteries and Churches: gathering reliques from all parts to furnish his Abbeyes at *Caen* (where hee also erected a Tombe for himselfe and his wife) feasting and rewarding his Nobles and men of worth: whereby hee so possest him of the hearts of all his people generally; as they were entirely his, for what he would.

The Duke comes to visit his kinsman.

During this calme of his life, hee makes a iourney ouer into *England*, as if to visite King *Edward* his kinsman: who, in regard of the preferuation, and breeding hee had in

in *Normandy*, by Duke *Richard* the second (Grandfather to them both) gaue him most Royall entertainement: And here he shewed himselfe; and here (no doubt) hee found matter for his hopes to worke on. In this enteruiew hee discouered *England*, being to be presupposed, he came not to gather cockle-shels, on the shore, Nor was it long after ere *Harold* (whether of purpose to ratifie some paction closly contriued betwixt them: or by casualty of weather driuen into *France* (and so faine to make it seeme a iourney of purpose to the Duke is not certainely deliuered) was gallantly entertained in *Normandy*, presented with all shewes of Armes, brought to *Paris*, and there likewise feasted in that Court. And at his returne to *Rouen*, something was concluded, either in likely-hood to deuide the Kingdome betweene them, or that *Harold* being a coast-dweller, and had the strongest hand in the State, should let in the Duke, and doe his best to helpe him to the Crowne, vpon conditions of his owne greatnesse, or whatsoeuer it was; promises were made and confirmed by oathes vpon the Euangelists, and all the sacred Reliques at *Rouen*, in the presence of diuers great persons. Besides for more assurance, *Harald* was fyanced to *Adeliza*, the Dukes daughter, and his brother *Wolnet*, left a pledge for the performance.

Harald goeth ouer into *Normandy*.

His entertainment.

His promises to the Duke.

This intercourse made the transf-action of the fate of England, and so much was done, either by King *Edward* or *Harald* (though neithers act, if any such were, was of power to preiudice the State, or alter the course of a right succession) as gaue the Duke a colour to claime the Crowne, by a donation made by Testament, which being against the Law and Custome of the Kingdome, could be of no validity at all. For the Crowne of *England* being held, not as Patrimoniall, but in a succession by remotion (which is a succeeding to anothers place) it was not in the power of King *Edward* to collate the same by any dispositiue and testamentary will, the right discending to the next of bloud, onely by the Custome and Law of the Kingdome: For the Successour is not sayd properly to be the heire of the King, but the Kingdome, which makes him so, and cannot bee put from it by any act of his Predecessour. But this was onely his claime: the right was of his owne making, and no otherwise, For as soone as hee had heard of the death of King *Edward*, with the Election, and Coronation of *Harald* (for they came both together) hee assembles the States of *Normandy*, and acquaints them with the right he had to *England*, *Soliciting an extention of their vtmost meanes for his recouery thereof, and auengement of the periured Vsurper* Harald; *shewing them apparant probabilitie of successe, by infallible intelligence hee had from the State, his strong partie therein, with the debility and distraction of the people; What glorie, wealth, and greatnesse, it would adde to their Nation, the obtayning of such a Kingdome, as was thus opportunely layd open for them, if they apprehended the present occasion.* All which remonstrances notwithstanding, could enduce but very few to like of this attempt, and those such who had long followed him in the warres, exhausted their estates, and content to runne vpon any aduenture that might promise likelyhood of aduancement. The rest were of diuers opinions: some that it was sufficient to hold and defend their owne Country; without hazarding themselues, to conquer others; and these were men of the best ability: others were content to contribute, but so sparingly, as would little aduance the businesse: and for the most part they were so tyred with the former warres, and so desirous to embrace the blessing of peace, as they were vnwilling to vndergoe a certaine trouble for an vncertaine good. And with these oppositions, or faint offers, the Dukes purpose, at first, had so little way, as did much perplex him: At length, seeing this protraction, and difficulty in generall: he deales with his neerest and most trusty friends in particular, being such as he knew affected the glory of action, and would aduenture their whole estates with him. As *William fitz Auber*, *Conte de Bretteuile Gualter Guifford* Earle of *Loguetille*, *Roger de Beaumont*, with others, especially his owne brothers, *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, and *Robert* Earle of *Mortaigne*: these in full assembly hee wrought to make their offers: which they did in so large a proportion; and especially *William fitz Auber* (who made the first offer, to furnish forty ships with men and munition; the Bishop of *Bayeux* forty the Bishop of *Mans* thirty, and so others, according, or beyond their abilities) as the rest of the assemblie, doubting if the action succeeded without

H. by will. Letter succession

The Dukes speech to the assembly of the States of *Normandie*.

The subtil proceeding of the Duke with his Nobles.

without their helpe (the Duke aryuing to that greatnesse) would beare in minde, what little minde they shewed to aduance his desires, beganne to contribute more largely. The Duke, finding them yeelding, though not in such sort as was requisite for such a worke; dealt with the Bishops and great men a part, so effectually, as at length hee gote of them seuerally, which of altogether hee could neuer haue compassed, and causing each mans contribution to bee registred; inkindled such an emulation amongst them, as they who lately would doe nothing, now striued who should doe most.

The French likewise ayde the Duke.

And not onely wan he the people of his owne Prouinces, to vndertake this action, but drew by his faire perswasions and large promises, most of the greatest Princes and Nobles of *France*, to aduenture their persons, and much of their estates with him; as *Robert fitz Haruays*, Duke of *Orleance*, the Earles of *Brittaine*, *Ponthieu*, *Bologne*, *Poitou*, *Mayne*; *Neuers*, *Hiesms*, *Aumal*; *Le Signior de Tours*, and euen his mortall enemy *Martel*, Earle of *Anion*, became to bee as forward as any. All which, hee sure could neuer haue induced, had not his vertues and greatnesse gained a wide opinion and reputation amongst them. Although in these aduancements and turnes of Princes, there is a concurrency of dispositions, and a constitution of times prepared for it: yet is it strange, that so many mighty men of the *French* Nation, would aduenture their liues and fortunes to adde *England* to *Normandie*, to make it more then *France*, and so great a Crowne to a Duke, who was to great for them already. But where mutations are destined, the counsels of men must be corrupted, and there will fall out all aduantages to serue that businesse.

The reason of the Dukes powre.

The King of *France*, who should haue strangled this disseigne in the birth, was a child, and vnder the curature of *Baldouin*, Earle of *Flanders*, whose daughter the Duke had married, and was sure to haue rather furtherance then any opposition that way: Besides, to amuze that Court, and dazell a young Prince, he promised faithfully, if hee conquered this Kingdome; to hold it of that King, as he did the Dutchie of *Normandie*, and doe him homage for the same; which would adde a great glory to that Crowne. Then was hee before hand with Pope *Alexander* (to make religion giue reputation and auowment to his pretended right) promising likewise to hold it of the Apostolique Sea, if hee preuailed in his enterprize. Whereupon the Pope sent him a Banner of the Church, with an *Agnus* of Gold, and one of the haires of Saint *Peter*. The Emperour *Henry* 4. sent him a Prince of *Almaine* with forces, but of what name, or his number, is not remembred: so that wee see it was not *Normandie* alone that subdued *England*, but a collected power out of all *France* and *Flanders* with the aydes of other Princes. And by these meanes, made hee good his vndertaking, and within eight monethes was readie furnished with a powerfull Army at Saint *Valerie* in *Normandie*, whence he transported the same into *England* in 896 shippes, as some write. And this was the man, and thus made to subdue *England*.

1066. *Anno. Reg.* 1.

And now hauing gotten, the great and difficult battaile, before remembred, at *Hastings*, the foureteenth of October 1066. hee marched without any opposition to *London*, where *Edwin* and *Morchar*, Earles of *Northumberland*, and *Mercland* (brothers of eminent dignitie and respect in the Kingdome) had laboured with all their power to stirre the hearts of the people for the conseruation of the State, and establishing *Edgar Atheling*, the next of the Royall issue, in his right of the Crowne: whereunto other of the Nobilitie had likewise consented; had they not seene the Bishops auerse or wauering. For, as then, to the Clergie, any King (so a Christian) was all one: they had their Prouince a part, deuided from secular domination: and of a Prince (though a stranger) who had taken vp so much of the world beforehand, vpon credite and fame of his piety and bountie, they could not but presume well for their estate: and so were content to giue way to the present Fortune.

Reason for the yeelding of the Clergie.

The Nobility, considering they were so borne, and must haue a King: not to take him (that was of power to make himselfe) would shew more of passion then prouidence: & to be now behind hand to receiue him, with more then submission, was as if to withstand: which (with the distrust of each others faith) made them striue & run headlong who

What moued the Nobles to yeeld.

who should be first to pre-occupate the grace of seruitude, and intrude them into forraine subiection.

The Commons (like a strong vessell that might haue beene for good vse) was hereby left, without a sterne, and could not moue but irregularly. So that all estates in generall, either corrupted with new hopes, or transported with feare, forsooke themselues, and their distressed Countrey. Vpon his approach to *London*, the Gates were all set open: the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Stigand*, with other Bishops, the Nobility, Magistrates, and People, rendring themselues in all obedience vnto him: and he returning plausible protestations of his future Gouernment, was on *Christmas* day, then next following, Crowned King of *England*, at *Westminster*, by *Aldred*, Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, for that *Stigand* was not held Canonically inuested in his Sea: and yet thought to haue beene a forward mouer of this alteration.

The Coronation and oath of *William* 1.

Heere, according to the accustomed forme, at his Coronation, the Bishops and Barons of the Realme, tooke their oaths, to be his true and loyall subiects, and he reciprocally (being required thereunto by the Arch-bishop of *Yorke*) made his personall oath, before the Altar of Saint *Peter*, *To defend the Holy Churches of God, and the Rectors of the same: To gouerne the Vniuersall people, subiect vnto him iustly: To establish equall Lawes, and to see them duely executed.* Nor did he euer claime any power by Conquest, but as a regular Prince, submitted himselfe to the orders of the Kingdome: desirous rather to haue his Testamentary title (howsoeuer weake) to make good his succession, rather then his sword. And though the Stile of *Conqueror* by the flattery of the time, was after giuen him; he shewed by all the course of his Gouernement he assumed it not: introducing none of all those alterations (which followed) by violence, but a milde gathering vpon the disposition of the State, and the occasions offered, and that by way of reformation. And now taking Hostages for his more security, and order for the defence and Gouernment of his Kingdome, at the opening of the spring next, he returnes into *Normandy*, so to settle his affaires there, as they might not distract him from his businesse in *England*, that required his whole powers.

King *Williams* submission to the orders of the Kingdome of *England*.

King *William* returnes into *Normandy*, with the chiefe Nobility of *England*.

And to leaue here all sure behind him, he commits the rule of the Kingdome, to his brother the Bishop of *Bayeux*, and to his Cosin *Fitz* Auber*, whom he had made Earle of *Hereford*, taking with him all the chiefe men of *England*, who were likest to be heads to a reuolt. As *Edger Atheling*, the Arch-bishop *Stigand*, lately discontented: *Edwin*, and *Morchar*, with many other Bishops and Noble men: Besides to vnburthen his charge, and dis-impester his Court; he tooke backe with him all the *French* aduenturers, and such as were vnnecessary men, rewarding them as farre as his treasure would extend, and the rest he made vp in faire promises.

* Or *Osborne*.

In his absence, which was all that whole sommer, nothing was here attempted against him, but onely that *Edric*, surnamed the *Forrester*, in the County of *Hereford*, called in the Kings of the *Welsh*, to his aide, and forraged onely the remote borders of that Country. The rest of the Kingdome stood quiet, expecting what would become of that new world, wherein as yet they found no great alteration, their lawes and liberties remaining the same they were before, and might hope by this accession of a new Prouince; the state of *England* would be but inlarged in dominion abroad, and not impaired in profit at home, by reason the Nation was but small, and of a plentifull, and not ouer-peopled Countrey, likely to impester them.

King *William* returnes into *England*.

Hauing disposed his affaires of *Normandy*, he returnes towards winter, into *England*, where he was to satisfie three sorts of men; *First, such Aduenturers, with whom hee had not yet cleered: Secondly, those of his owne people, whose merites or necreneſſe, looked for recompence, whereof the number beeing so great, many must haue their expectations fed, if not satisfied: Thirdly, the people of this Kingdome, by whom he must now subsist:* For beeing not able with his owne Nation, so to impeople the same, as to hold and defend it (if he should proceed to an extirpation of the naturall inhabitants) he was likewise to giue them satisfaction.

Wherein, he had more to do, then in his battell at *Hastings*; seeing all remunerations, with supplies of money, must be raised out of the stocke of this Kingdome, which could not

not but be irkesome to the State in generall, and all preferments and dignities confer'd on his, to be either by vacancies, or displacing others, which must needs breed very feeling grieuances in particular. And yet wee finde no great men thrust out of their roomes, but such as put themselues out, by reuolting, after his establishment, and their fealtie giuen, as appeares by the controuersie betweene *Warren* the *Norman*, and *Sherburn* of *Sherburn* Castle in *Norfolke*, which castle though the King had giuen to *Warren*, yet (when *Sherburn* alledged, *How hee neuer bare Armes against him: that hee was his subiect as well as the other, and held his Lands by that Law which he had established amongst all his subiects*, the King gaue iudgement against *Warren*, and commanded, that *Sherburn* should hold his Land in peace. So that it seemes, hee contented himselfe and his, for the time, onely with what he found here ready, and with filling vp their places, who were slaine in the battell, or fled, as many were, with the sonnes of *Harald* out of the Kingdome. Such Gentlemen as he could not presently preferre, and had a purpose to aduance, hee dispersed abroad into Abbeys, there to liue till places fell out for them: and 24 he sent to the Abby of *Eley*: whereby he not onely lessened the multitude of attendants and suitors at Court; eased that eye-sore of strangers, but also had them a watch ouer the Clergie, who then were of great and eminent power in the Kingdome; and might preuaile with the people.

Cambden Norf.

M.S.

1067. *Anno. Reg.* 2.

The *English* Nobility forsake the kingdome.

But the English Nobility, incompatible of these new concurrents; found notwithstanding, such a disproportion of grace, and darkning of their dignities, by the interposition of so many, as must needs lessen their splendour; that many of the chiefest, doubting to be more impayred in honour and estate, conspired together, and fled some into *Scotland*, and some into *Denmarke*, to trie if by ayde from abroad, they might recouer themselues, and their lost fortunes againe at home. Amongst which, the chiefe was *Edgar Atheling* (termed *Englands Dearling*, which shewed the peoples zeale to his bloud) who with his mother *Agatha*, and his two sisters, *Magaret* and *Christin*, intending to retire into *Hungarie* (their natiue Country) were driuen by tempest on the coast of *Scotland*, where they were in all Hospitable manner entertained by *Malcolin* the third, whose former suffrings in his exile, had taught him to compassionate others like distresses; and whom it concerned now to looke to his owne, his neighbours house being thus on fire: and to foster a partie against so daungerous an incommer, that was like to thrust them all out of doore. Which induced him not onely to entertaine this Prince, dispossest of his right, but to enter league with him for the publique safetie; And to inchaine it the stronger, hee takes to wife *Margaret*, the sister of *Edgar* (a Ladie indued withall blessed vertues) by whom the bloud of our auncient Kings was preserued, and conioyned with the *Norman* in *Henry* the second, and so became *English* againe. Vnto *Edgar* in *Scotland*, repaired the Earles *Edwin* and *Morchar*, *Hereward*, *Gospatric*, *Siward*, with others: and shortly after *Stigand* and *Aldred*, Arch-bishops, with diuers of the Clergie: who in the third yeare of this Kings raigne, raised very great commotions in the North, beyond *Humber*, and wrought most egarly to recouer their lost Country: but being now to late, and the occasion not taken before the settling of the gouernment, whilst it was new, and branling, they preuailed nothing, but gaue aduantage to the Conquerour, to make himselfe more then hee was: For all conspiracies of subiects, if they succeed not, aduance the soueraignetie: and nothing gaue roote to the *Norman* planting here, more then the petty reuolts made by discattred troupes, in seuerall parts, begunne withour order, and followed without resolution; whereas nothing could be done for a generall recouery, but by a generall sullcuation of the people: for which all wary preuention was vsed; and they had waites enough laide on, to hold them downe. And though these Lords imbroiled themselues, and held him doing in the North, yet hee hauing all the South parts setled vnder his domination, with well practized and prepared forces, there could bee little hope of good, whilst all their great estates furnisht the *Normans*, both in state and meanes to ruine them. The Earledome; and all the Lands which *Edwin* held in *Yorkeshire*, were giuen to *Alain*, Earle of *Brittaine*, kinsman to the Conqueror; The Arch-bishopricke of *Canterburie*, confer'd on *Lanfranc*, Abbot of *Caen*. That of *Yorke*, on

The King of *Scots* entets league with the English Nobility and matries *Edgars* sister.

1068. *Anno. Reg.* 3.

See the Chatter in the Appendix.

on *Thomas* his Chaplaine, and all the reſt both of the Clergie and others, which were our, had their places within, ſupplied by *Normans*.

And after King *William* had appeaſed a Commotion in the Weſt, which the ſonnes of *Harald*, with forces out of *Ireland* had raiſed, & alſo repreſſed the rebellions of *Exceſter*, and *Oxford*, he takes his iourney in perſon Northward with all expedition (leaſt the enemy there, ſhould grow to high in heart and opinion, vpon the great ſlaughter of his people, made at *Yorke*; and the deſeiture of his Brother and Leiuetenant, *Robert* Earle of *Mortaigne*, ſlaine with ſeuen hundreth *Normans* at *Durham*) where, at his firſt comming he ſo wrought, that he either diſcomfeited, or cottupted the Generals of the *Danicque* forces (newly arriued to ayde the Lords; ſent by *Swaine*, King of *Denmarke*, vnder the conduct of his two ſonnes, *Harald* and *Knute*, with a Naue of three hundreth ſaile) and after ſets vpon the Army of the Lords, weakened both in ſtrength and hope, by this departure of their Confederates, and puts them to flight: Which done, he vtterly waſted, and laide deſolate, all that goodly Countrey betweene *Yorke* and *Durham*, the ſpace of 60. miles, as it might be no more a ſuccour to the enemy: And the like courſe he uſed on all the Coaſts where any apt landings lay for inuaſions; and ſo returnes to *London*.

Moſt of the Lords after this defeit, came in, vpon publique faith giuen them, and were conducted to *Barkehamſted*, by the Abbot *Fredricke*; where, vpon their ſubmiſſion, and Oath of Allegeance re-taken, they had their pardon, and reſtitution of grace graunted by the King, who it ſeemes was ſo willing to acquiet them, that againe he takes his perſonall Oath before the Arch-biſhop *Lanfrancke*, and the Lords, *To obſerue the Auntient Lawes of the Realme, eſtabliſhed by his Noble Predeceſſors, the Kings of England, and eſpecially thoſe of Edward the Confeſſor*. Whereupon theſe ſtormy diſpoſitions held calme a while. See the Appendix.

But long it was not ere many of theſe Lords (whether vpon intelligence of new hopes, from Prince *Edgar* (who was ſtill in *Scotland*) or growne deſperate with new diſpleaſures, at home, finding ſmall performance of promiſes made, rupture of Oath, and all other reſpects, brake out againe. The Earle *Edwyn*, making towards *Scotland*, was murthered by his owne people. The Lords *Morchar*, and *Hereward*, betooke them to the Iſle of *Eley*, meaning to make good that place for that Winter; whether alſo repaired the Earle *Syward*, and the Biſhop of *Durham* out of *Scotland*. But the King, who was no time-giuer vnto growing dangers, beſets all the Iſle with flat boates on the Eaſt, and made a Bridge of two miles long on the Weſt, and ſafely brought in his people vpon the enemy, who ſeeing themſelues ſurprized; yeelded all to the Kings mercy, except *Hereward*, who deſperatly matched with his people through the Fennes; and recouered *Scotland*: The reſt were ſent to diuerſe Priſons, where they died, or remained during the Kings life. 1074. *Anno.* *Reg.* 8.

Thoſe Lords who perſiſted loyall vpon this laſt ſubmiſſion, were all imployed and well graced with the King, as *Edric* the Forreſter (and firſt that rebelled in his Raigne) was held in cleere truſt, and neere about him. *Goſpatrice* he made Earle of *Northumberland*, and ſent him againſt *Malcolin*, who in this time, ſubdues the Countries of *Tiſdall*, *Cleueland*, and *Comberland*: *Waltheof*, ſonne to the Earle *Syward*, he held ſo worthy to be made his, as he married him to his Neece *Iudith*, though he had beene a principall actor in the Northerne commotion (and in defending the Citty of *Yorke* againſt him: is ſayd to haue ſtriken off the heads of diuerſe *Normans*, one by one, as they entered a breach, to the admiration of all about him) ſhewing therein that true touch of the nobleſt nature, to loue vertue, euen in his enemies.

And now ſeeing *Scotland* to be the eſpeciall retraite for all conſpirators, and discontented in his Kingdome, yeelding them continuall ſuccour, and aſſiſtance, and where his competitor *Edgar* liued, to beget and nurſe perpetuall matter for their hopes, and at hand for all aduantages; he enters that Kingdome with a puiſſant Army: which, incountring with more neceſſities then forces, ſoone grew tired, and both Kings, conſidering of what difficulties the victory would conſiſt, were willing, to take the ſafeſt way to there ends, and vpon faire ouertures, to conclude a peace; Articling

Articling for the bounds of each Kingdome, with the same title of Dominion, as in former times: All delinquents, and their partakers generally pardoned.

Scotlād before this time generally spake a kind of *Irish*.

Heere with the vniuersall turne of alteration thus wrought in *England*, *Scotland* (being a part of the body of this Isle) is noted to haue likewise had a share; and as in the Court of *England*, the *French* tongue became generally spoken; so in that of *Scotland* did the *English*, by reason of the multitude of this Nation, attending both the Queene and her brother *Edgar*, and daily repairing thither for their safety, and combination against the common enemy: of whom diuerse, abandoning their native distressed Countrey, were by the bounty of that King preferred: and there planted, spread their off-spring into many noble families, remaining to this day: The titles for distinguishing degrees of honour; as of Duke, Earle, Baron, Rider or Knight, were then (as is thought) first introduced: and the nobler sort began to be called by the title of their *Signories* (according to the *French* manner) which before bare the name of their Father, with the addition of *Mac*, after the fashion of *Ireland*. Other innouations, no doubt, entred there like wise at the opening of this wide mutation of ours: fashion and imitation like weedes easily growing in euery soyle.

Titles of honor in *Scotland*.

Edgar Atheling submitted himselfe to King *William*.

Shortly after this late made peace, Prince *Edgar* voluntarily came in, and submitted himselfe to the King, being then in *Normandy*, and was restored to grace, and a faire maintenance, which held him euer after quiet. And it made well at that time for the fortune of the King, howsoeuer for his owne, being thought to haue ill-timed his affaires (either through want of seasonable intelligence, or dispaire of successe) in making too soone that submission, which was latter or neuer to be done. For in this absence of the King, *Roger Fits Auber*, the young Earle of *Hereford*, contrary to his expresse commandement, gaue his sister in marriage to *Raph Waher*, Earle of *Northfolke*, and *Suffolke*, and at the great Solemnization thereof, the two Earles conspired with *Eustace* Earle of *Boloigne* (who secretly came ouer to this festiuall) and with the Earle *Waltheof*, and other *English* Lords, to call in the *Danes*, and by maine power to keepe out and dispossesse the King. Who hauing thus passed ouer so many gulfes of forraine dangers, might little imagine of any wracke so neere home; and that those, whom he had most aduanced, should haue the especiall hand in his destruction: But no rewards, are benefits (that are not held so) nor can euer cleere the accounts with them that ouervalue their merits. And had not this conspiracy bene opportunely discouered (which some say, was by the Earle *Waltheof*, moued with the vglinesse of so foule an ingratitude) they had put him againe to the winning of *England*. But now the fire bewrayed before it flamed, was soone quenched by the diligence of *Odon* the Kings Vice-gerent, the Bishop of *Worcester* and others, who kept the Conspirators from ioyning their forces: So that they neuer came to make head, but were either surprized, or forced to flye. The Earle *Roger Fitz Auber* was taken, and some say executed; and so was shortly after the Earle *Waltheof*, whose dissent from the act, could not get him pardon for his former consent, though much compassion in respect of his great worthinesse. But the wide distent of these tumors, fed from many secret vaines, seemed to be of that danger, as required this extremity of cure, especially in a part so apt for infection, vpon any the like humours.

1075. *Anno.* *Reg.* 9.

1076. *Anno.* *Reg.* 10.

1077. *Anno.* *Reg.* 11.

For this Conspiracy seemes to take motion from a generall league of all the neighbour Princes here about, as may well be gathered by their seuerall actions. First in the King of *Fraunce* by defending *Dole* in *Brittaigne* (a Castle of *Raph de Waher*) against the King of *England*, and in likelihood, imploying the Earle of *Boloigne* towards the Conspirators: In *Swayne* King of *Denmarke*, by sending a Nauy of two hundreth saile, vnder the conduct of his sonne *Knute*, and others. In *Drone* King of *Ireland*, by furnishing the sonnes of *Harald* with 65. ships. In *Malcoline*, and the Kings of *Wales*, by their readinesse to assist. But the *Danes* being on the coast, and hearing how their confederates had sped, with the great preparations the King had made; after some pillage taken vpon the coast of *England* and *Flanders*, returned home, and neuer after arriued to disturbe this land. Though in *Anno Reg.* 19. *Knute*, then King of *Denmarke*, after the death of *Swaine* (intending to repaire the dishonour of his two last aduentures past) and

and to put for the Crowne of *England*, his ptedecessors had holden, prepated a Nauie of a thousand saile, and was aided with sixe hundteth mote by *Robert le Frison* Earle of *Flanders*(whose daughter he had married.) But the winds held so conttary for two yeares together, as vtterly quasht that enterptize; and freed the King, and his successors fot euer after, from future molestation that way.

But this businesse put the State to an infinit charge, the King entettayning all that time (besides his *Normans*) *Hugh*, btother to the King of *France*, with many companies of *French*. Finding the *English* (in respect of many great families allied to the *Danes*) to incline rathet to that Nation, then the *Norman*, and had experience of the great and neere intelligence continually passing betweene them.

And these were all the warres he had within the Kingdome, sauing in *An. Regni* 13. he subdued *Wales*, and brought the kings there, to doe him homage. His wattes abroad, were all about his Dominions in *France*, first raised by his owne sonne *Robert*, left Lieuftenant gouernor of the Dutchie of *Normandy*, and the Countie of *Mayne*, who in his fathers absence, tasting the glorie of commaund, gtew to assume the absolute rule of the Prouince, eausing the Batons there, to do him homage (as Duke) not as Lieutenant, & leagues him with the King of *France*, who working vpon the easinesse of his youth, and ambition, was glad to apprehend that occasion to disioynt his estate, who was growen too great for him. And the profusse largesse, and disordetlie expence, whereto *Robert* was addicted, is noutished by all waies possible, as the meanes to imbrake him in those difficulties of still getting mony, that could not but needs yeeld continuall occasion to intertain both his own discontent & theirs from whom, his supplies must be raised. And though thereby he purchased him the title of *Courtois*, yet he lost the opinion of good gouetnment, and constrayned the estates of *Normandie*, to complaine to his fathet of the gteat concussion, and violent exactions he vsed amongst them.

The King vnderstanding the fite thus kindled in his owne house, that had set others all in combustion, hasts with forces into *Normandie*, to haue surprized his sonne; who aduertised of his comming, futnisht with two thousand men at Armes, by the King of *France*, lay in ambush whete he should passe; sets vpon him, defeited most of his people, and in the pursuite happened to incounter with himselfe, whom hee vnhorsed, and wounded in the arme, with his Launce; but perceiuing by his voice, it was his father, he hasted to remounte him, humbly ctauing pardon fot his offence: which the father (seeing in what ease he was) granted, howsoeuer he gaue; and vpon his submission, tooke him with him to *Rouen*; whence, after cured of his hurt, hee returned with his sonne *William* (likewise wounded in the fight) into *England*.

Long was it not ere he was againe inform'd of his sonnes temutyning, and how hee exacted vpon the *Normans*, vsurpt the intire gouernment, and vrged his fathers promise thereof, made him, before the King of *France*, vpon his Conquest of *England*: which eansed his litle stay heere, but to make preparations for his returne into those parts: whether in passing, he was driuen on the Coast of *Spaine*, but at length ariuing at *Burdeaux*, with his great preparations his sonne *Robert* came in, and submitted himselfe the second time: whom he now tooke with him into *England*, to frame him to a better obedience, imploying him in the hard and neeessitous warres of *Scotland* (the late peace being betweene the two Kings againe broken) and after sent him backe, and his young sonne *Henry*, with the association of charge and like power (but of mote trust) to the gouernment of *Normandie*.

After the two Princes had beene there a while, they went to visite the King of *France* at *Constance*, where feasting certaine dayes, vpon an after dinner, *Henry* wanne so much at chesse, of *Louis*, the Kings eldest sonne, as hee, growing into choller, called him the sonne of a Bastard, and threw the Chesse in his face. *Henry* takes vp the Chesse-bord, and strake *Louis*, with that force, as drew blood, and had killed him, had not his brothet *Robert* come in the meane time; and interposed himselfe: Whereupon they suddenly tooke hotse, and with much adoe they recouered *Pontoise*, from the Kings people that pursued them. This quarrell atising, vpon the in-ter-meeting of these Princes (a thing that seldome breeds good bloud amongst them) re-enkindled a heate

1078. *Anno.* *Reg.* 12.

1079. *Anno.* *Reg.* 13. The Kings of *Wales* doe homage to King *William*.

Robert of Normandy titled *Courtois*.

1080. *Anno.* *Reg.* 14. *Robert* rebels against his father.

1081. *Anno.* *Reg.* 15.

1082. *Anno.* *Reg.* 16. *Louis* and *Henry* sonnes of the Kings of France, and England.

a heate of more rancor in the fathers, and beganne the first warre betweene the *English* and *French*. For presently the King of *France*, complots againe with *Robert* (impatient of a partner) enters *Normandie*, and takes the Citie of *Vernon*. The King of *England* inuades *France*, subdues the Country of *Laintonge* and *Poictou*, and returnes to *Rouen*, where the third time, his sonne *Robert* is reconciled vnto him, which much dis-
1026. appoints and vexes the King of *France*, who thereupon, summons the King of *England*,
Anno. to doe him homage for the Kingdome of *England*, which he refused to doe, saying, *Hee*
*Reg.*20 *held it of none but God and his sword.* For the Dutchie of *Normandie* hee offers him homage: but that would not satisfie the King of *France*, whom nothing would, but what he could not haue, the Maistery: and seekes to make any occasion the motiue of his quarrell: and againe inuades his territories, but with more losse then profit. In the end, they conclude a certaine crazie peace, which held no longer then King *William* had recouered a sicknesse, whereinto (through his late trauaile, age, and corpulencie) he was falne: at which time, the King of *France*, then yong and lustie, iesting at his great
1087. belly, wherof he said, he lay in, at *Rouen* so irritated him, as being recouered, he gathers al
Anno. his best forces, enters *France* in the chiefest time of their fruits, making spoile of all in his
*Reg.*21. way, till hee came euen before *Paris*; where the King of *France* then was; to whom he sends, to shew him of his vp-sitting, and from thence marched to the Citie of *Mants*, which he vtterly sackt, and in the distruction thereof, gate his owne, by the straine of his horse, among the breaches, and was thence conueyed sicke to *Rouen*, and so ended all his warres.

King *William* denies to do homage for England, to the King of France.

His gouernment in peace.

Now for his gouernment in peace, and the course hee held in establishing the Kingdome thus gotten; first after he had represt the conspiracies in the North, and well quieted all other parts of the State (which now being absolutely his, hee would haue to bee ruled by his owne Law) hee beganne to gouerne all by the Customes of *Normandie*. Whereupon the agreeued Lords, and sadde people of *England*, tender their humble petition, *Beseeching him, in regard of his oath made at his Coronation: And by the soule of Saint* Edward, *from whom hee had the Crowne, and Kingdome; vnder whose Lawes they were borne and bred; That he would not adde that miserie, to deliuer them vp to bee iudged, by a strange Law they vnderstood not.* And so earnestly they wrought, that hee was pleased to confirme that by his Charter, which hee had twice fore-promised by his oath: And gaue commaundement to his Iusticiaries to see those Lawes of Saint *Edward* (so called, not that he made them, but collected them out of *Merchen*-Law, *Dane*-Law, and *Westsex*-Law) *To be inuiolablie obserued throughout the Kingdome.* And yet notwithstanding this confirmation, and the Charters afterward granted by *Henry* the first, *Henry* the second, and King *Iohn*, to the same effect; there followed a great innouation both in the Lawes and gouernment of *England*: So that this seemes rather done to acquiet the people, with a shew of the continuation of their auncient customes and liberties, then that they enioyed them in effect. For the little conformitie betweene them of former times, and these that followed vpon this change of State, shew from what head they sprang. And though there might bee some veynes issuing from former originals, yet the maine streame, of our Common-law, with the practise thereof, flowed out of *Normandie*, notwithstanding all obiections can bee made to the contrary. For before these collections of the *Confessors*, there was no vniuersall Law of the Kingdome, but euery seuerall Prouince held their owne Customes: all the inhabitants from *Humber* to *Scotland* vsed the *Danique* Law: *Merchland*, the middle part of the Countrie, and the State of the West *Saxons*, had their seuerall constitutions, as being seuerall Dominions: And though for some few yeares there seemed to bee a reduction of the *Heptarchie*, into a *Monarchie*, yet held it not so long together (as we may see in the succession of that broken gouernment) as to settle one forme of order current ouer all; but that euery Prouince, according to their particular founders, had their customes a part, and held nothing in common (besides religion, and the constitutions thereof) but with the vniuersalitie of *Meum & Tuum*, ordered according to the rites of nations, and that *ius innatum*, the Common-law of all the world, which we see to be as vniuersall, as are the cohabitations, and societies of men, and

What were the lawes of England.

The originall of the Common Law now vsed.

and serues the turne to hold them together in all Countries, howsoeuer they may differ in their formes. So that by these passages, we see what way wee came, where wee are, and the furthest end wee can discouer of the originall of our Common-law; and to striue to looke beyond this, is to looke into an vncertaine vastnesse, beyond our discerning. Nor can it detract from the glory of good Customes, if they bring but a pedigree of 600 yeares to approue their gentilitie; seeing it is the equity, and not the antiquity of lawes, that makes them venerable, and the integritie of the professors thereof, the profession honored. And it were well with mankinde, if dayes brought not their corruptions, and good orders were continued with that prouidence, as they were instituted. But this alteration of the Lawes of *England* bred most heauie doleances, not onely in this Kings time, but long after: For whereas before, those Lawes they had, were written in their owne tongue, intelligible to all; now are they translated into *Latine* and *French*, and practized wholly in the *Norman* forme and Language; thereby to draw the people of this Kingdome, to leaine that speech for their owne need, which otherwise they would not doe; And seeing a difference in tongue, would continue a difference in affections; all meanes was wrought to reduce it to one *Idiom*, which yet was not in the power of the Conqueror to doe, without the extirpation, or ouerlaying the Land-bred people; who being so far in number (as they were) aboue the inuadors; both retaine the maine of the Language, and in few yeares, haue those who subdued them, vndistinguishably theirs. For notwithstanding the former Conquest by the *Danes*, and now this by the *Norman* (the solid bodie of the Kingdome, still consisted of the *English*) and the accession of strange people, was but as riuers to the Ocean, that changed not it, but were changed into it. And though the King laboured what hee could to turne all to *French*, *By enioyning their children here to vse no other Language, with their* Grammer *in schooles, to haue the Lawes practized in* French, *all petitions and businesse of Court in* French, *No man graced but he that spake* French, yet soone after his dayes, all returnes naturall English againe (but Law) and that still held forraine, and became in the end wholly to be inclosed in that language: nor haue we now, other marke of our subiection and inuassellage from *Normandie*, but onely that, and that still speakes *French* to vs in *England*.

The Law of England put into a forraine Language.

And herewithall, *New Termes, new Constitutions, new Formes of Pleas, new Offices, and Courts*, are now introduced by the *Normans*; a people more inured to litigation, and of spirits more impatient, and contentious, then were the *English*: who (by reason of their continuall warre, wherein Law is not borne, and labour to defend the publicke) were more at vnitie in their priuate: and that small time of peace they had, Deuotion, and good fellowship entertained. For their Lawes and constitutions before, wee see them plaine, briefe, and simple, without perplexities, hauing neither fold nor pleite, commanding; not disputing: Their grants and transactions as briefe and simple, which shewed them a cleere-meaning people, retayning still the nature of that plaine realnesse they brought with them, vncomposed of other fashion, then their own, and vnaffecting imitation.

Vide Append.

And for their tryals (in cases criminall) where manifest proofes failed, they continued their antient custome, held from before their Christianitie (vntill this great alteration) which trials they called *Ordeal*; Or (*signifying*) *Right*, Deale, *Part, whereof they had these kinds*: Ordeal *by fire, which was for the better sort, and by water for the inferiour: That of Fire, was to goe blindfold ouer certaine plough-shares, made red hote, and laide an vneuen distance one from another. That of Water was either of hot, or cold: in the one to put their armes to the elbow, in the other to bee cast headlong.* According to their escapes or hurts, they were adiudged: *Such as were cast into the riuers, if they sancke were held guiltlesse, if not, culpable, as cicted by that Element.* These trials they called *the iudgements of God, and they were performed with solemne Oraisons.* In some cases, *The accused was admitted to cleere himselfe by receiuing the Eucharist, or by his owne Oath, or the Oathes of two or three*; but this was for especiall persons, and such, whose liuings were of a rate allowable thereunto, the vsuall opinion perswading them, that men of ability held a more regard of honesty.

The English trials in cases criminall.

Men of ability cleered by their oathes.

With

With these, they had *the triall of Campefight, or single combat* (which likewise the *Lumbards*, originally of the same *German* Nation, brought into *Italy*) *permitted by the Law, in cases either of safetie, and fame, or of possessions.* All which trials, shew them to be ignorant in any other forme of Law, or to neglect it; Nor would they bee induced to forgoe these Customes, and determine their affaires by Imperiall or Pontificiall Constitutions, no more then would the *Lumbards* forsake their duellary Lawes in *Italy*, which their Princes (against some of their wils) were constrained to ratifie, as *Luytprandus*, their King, thus ingeniously confesses. *Wee are vncertaine of the iudgement of God, and wee haue heard many by fight, to haue lost their cause, without iust cause; yet in respect of the custome of our Nation, we cannot auoide an impious Law.* But all these formes of iudgements, and trials, had their seasons; Those of Fire, and Water, in short time after the Conquest, grew disused, and in the end vtterly obrogated by the Pope; as deriued from Paganisme; That of combat continues longer-liued, but of no ordinarie vse: And all actions now, both criminall and reall, beganne to be wholly adiudged by the verdict of twelue men, according to the custome of *Normandy*, where the like forme is vsed, and called by the name of *Enquest*, with the same cautions for the Iurors, as it is here continued to this day. Although some hold opinion, that this forme of triall, was of vse in this Kingdome from all antiquitie, and alledge an Ordinance of King *Ethelred* (father to the Confessor) *willing in their Gemote, or conuentions, monethly held in euery Hundred, twelue graue men of free condition, should with the* Greue, *the chiefe Officer amongst them, sweare vpon the Euangelists, to iudge euery mans cause aright.* But here wee see twelue men were to be assessors with the *Greue* to iudge, and no Iurors, according to this manner of triall now vsed; Besides, had there beene any such forme, we should aswell haue heard thereof in their Lawes and practise, as of those other kinds of *Ordeal*, onely, and vsually mentioned.

The English trials.

contra wk 12 men before the conquest

But whatsoeuer innouations were in all other things; the gouernment for the peace and securitie of the Kingdome (which most imported the King to looke vnto) seemes to be continued as before, and for that businesse he found here better Lawes established, by the wary care of our former Kings, then any hee could bring. Amongst which especially was *the Borough Law, wherby euery free man of the Commons stood as surety for each others behauiour, in this sort.*

The continuation of the Law for the peace.

The Borough Law of the Saxons.

The kingdome was deuided into Shieres or Shares, euery Shiere consisting of so many Hundreds, and euery Hundred of a number of Boroughs, Villages, or Tythings, contayning ten housholders, whereof; *If any one should commit an vnlawfull act, the other nine were to attach and bring him to reason: If hee fled, 31 dayes were enioyned him to appeare: If in the meane time apprehended, hee was made to restore the damage done; otherwise the Free-borough head (to say the Tythingman) was to take with him two of the same Village, and out of three other Villages next adioyning as many (that is, the Tythingman, and two other of the principall men) and before the officers of that Hundred, purge himselfe and the Village of the fact, restoring the damage done with the goods of the malefactor; which, if they suffized not to satisfie, the Free-borough, or Tything, must make vp the rest, and besides take an oath to bee no way accessarie to the fact; and to produce the Offendor, if by any meanes they could recouer him, or know where hee were. Besides euery Lord and Maister, stood* Borough, *for all his familie, whereof if any seruant were called in question, the Maister was to see him answere it in the Hundred, where hee was accused. If he fled, the Maister was to yeeld such goods as hee had to the King. If himselfe were accused to bee aiding or priuie to his seruants flight, hee was to cleere himselfe by fiue men, otherwise to forfeit all his goods to the King, and his man to bee outlawed.*

Saxon Lawes.

Lambert.

These lincks thus intermutually fastened, made so strong a chaine to hold the whole frame of the State together in peace and order, as, all the most pollitique regiments vpon earth, all the interleagued societies of men, cannot shew vs a streighter forme of combination. This might make the Conqueror, comming vpon a people (thus Law-bound hand and foote) to establish him, so soone, and easily as he did; This *Borough-law* (being as a Cittadell, built to guard the Common-wealth, comming to bee posset by a Conquering Maister) was made to turne all this ordi-

nance

nance vpon the State, and battet het selfe with her owne weapon: and this Law may be some cause, we finde no popular insurrection before the Conquest. For had not this people beene borne with these fetters, and an idle peace (but had liued loose, and in action) it is like they would haue done as noblie, and giuen as many, and as deepe wounds ete they lost their Country, as euer the *Brittaines* did, either against the *Romans*, or the *Saxons*, their predecessors, ot themselues had done against the *Danes*; a people far mote powerfull, and numetous then these. The Conquerot, without this, had not made it the worke of one day, nor had *Normandie* euer beene able to haue yeelded those multitudes for supplies, that many battailes must haue had.

No popular insurrection before the Conquest.

But now. *First the strict executing this Law. Secondly, dis-weop'ning the Commons. Thirdly, preuenting their night-meetings with a heauie penalty, that euery man at the day closing, should couer his fire, and depart to his rest. Fourthly, erecting diuers Fortresses in fit parts of the Kingdome. Fifthly, collating all offices, both of commaund, and iudicature, on those who were his*; made his domination such as he would haue it.

The meanes vsed by the *Norman*, to establish his Conquest.

And where before the Bishop and the Alderman were the absolute Iudges to determine all busiuesse in euery Shiere, and the Bishop in many cases shared in the benifit of the Mulcts with the King, now he confin'd the Clergie, within the Prouince of their owne Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, to deale onely in busiuesse concerning rule of soules, according to the Cannons, and Lawes Episcopall.

Alteration of the Gouernment.

And whereas the causes of the Kingdome were before determined in euery Shire, and by a Law of King *Edward* Senior; all matters in question should, vpon especiall penaltie, without further deferment, bee finally decided in their *Gemote*, or conuentions held monthly in euery hundred: now he ordained, *That foure times in the yeare, for certaine daies, the same businesses should bee determined in such place as he would appoint, where hee constituted Iudges to attend for that purpose, and also others, from whom, as from the bosome of the Prince, all litigators should haue Iustice, and from whom was no appeale.* Others hee appointed for the punishment of malefactots, called *Iusticiarij Pacis.*

The order of deciding controuersies in the Saxons time.

New orders instituted by the *Normans.*

What alteration was then made in the tenure of mens possessions, or since introduced, we may find by taking note of their former vsances. *Our Auncestors had onely two kinde of tenures,* Boke-land, *and* Folk-land, *the one was a possession by writing, the other without. That by writing was as free-hold, and by Charter, hereditarie, with all immunities, and for the free and nobler sort. That without writing, was to hold at the will of the Lord, bound to rents and seruices, and was for the rurall people. The inheritances discended not alone, but after the* German *manner, equally deuided amongst all the children, which they called* Land-skiftan, *to say* Part-land, *a custome yet continued in some places of* Kent, *by the name of* Gauel-kin, *of* Gif eal kin: And hereupon some write how the people of that Country, retayned their auncient Lawes and liberties by especiall graunt from the Conquetour: who after his battaile at *Hastings*, comming to *Douer*, to make all sure on that side, was incompassed by the whole people of that Prouince, carrying boughs of trees in their hands, and marching round about him like a mooiing wood. With which strange and suddaine show being much mooued, the Arch-bishop *Stigand*, and the Abbot *Egelsin* (who had raised this commotion by showing the people in what daunger they were, vtterly to loose their liberties, and indure the perpetuall misery of seruitude vnder the domination of strangers) present themselues, and declared, *How they were the vniuersall people of that Countrey, gathered together in that manner, with boughes in their hands, either as Olive branches of intercession, for peace and libertie, or to intangle him in his passage, with resolution rather to leaue their liues, then that which was deerer, their freedome.* Whereupon they say the Conquerout graunted them the continuation of their former Customes and Liberties: whereof, notwithstanding they now retaine no other, then such as are common with the rest of the Kingdome.

The alteration of Tenures.

Lambert.

Freehold.

The Tenure of *Gauel kin.*

The Customs of *Kent* preserued by the mediation of the Archbishop *Stigand.*

Geruasius Tilburiensis. Dialog Scacc.

For such as were Tenants at the will of their Lords (which now growne to a greater number, and more miserable then before) vpon their petition, and compassion of their oppression he releeued, their case was this. All such as were discouered to haue had a hand in any rebellion, and were pardoned, onely to enioy the benefit of life, hauing all their

their liuelihood taken from them, became vassals vnto those Lords to whom the possessions were giuen, of all such lands forfeited by attaindors. And if by their diligent seruice, they could attaine any portion of ground, they held it but onely so long as it pleased their Lords, without hauing any estate for themselues, or their children, and were oftentimes violently cast out vpon any small displeasure, contrary to all right: whereupon it was ordained, that whatsoeuer they had obtained of their Lords, by their obsequious seruice, or agreed for, by any lawfull pact, they should hold by an inuiolable Law, during their owne liues.

Villenage.

The next great worke after the ordering his Lawes, was the raising and disposing of his reuenues, taking a course to make, and know the vtmost of his estate, by a generall suruey of the Kingdome, whereof he had a president by the *Dome* booke of *Winchester*, taken before by King *Alfride*. But as one day informes another, so these actions of profit grew more exact in their after practise: and a larger Commission is graunted, a choice of skilfuller men imployed, to take the particulars both of his owne possessions, and euery mans else in the Kingdome, the Nature and the quality of their Lands, their estates, and abilities; besides the descriptions, bounds, and diuisions of Shieres and Hundreds, and this was drawne into one booke, and brought into his treasurie, then newly called the Exchequer (according to the soueraigne Court of that name of *Normandy*) before termed here the *Taleè*, and it was called the *Dome* booke (*Liber indiciarius*) for all occasions concerning these particulars.

A suruay made of the Kingdome.

Geruasius Tilburien: de Scacc:

Dome booke.

All the Forests and Chases of the Kingdome, hee seized into his proper possession, and exempted them from being vnder any other Law then his owne pleasure, to serue as *Penetralia Regum*, the withdrawing Chambers of Kings, to recreate them after their serious labours in the State, where none other might presume to haue to doe, and where all punishments and pardons of delinquents were to bee disposed by himselfe, absolutely, and all former customes abrogated. And to make his command the more, he increased the number of them in all parts of the Land, and on the South coast dispeopled the Country for aboue thirty miles space, making of old inhabited possessions, a new Forest, inflicting most seuere punishments for hunting his Deere, and thereby much aduances his reuenues. An act of the greatest concussion, and tyranny, hee committed in his raigne, and which purchased him much hatred. And the same course held (almost euery King neere the Conquest) till this heauie grieuance was allayed by the Charter of Forests, granted by *Henry* the third.

Ibid.

The new Forest in *Hamshire.*

Besides these, he imposed no new taxations on the State, and vsed those hee found very moderately, as *Dangelt*, an imposition of two shillings vpon euery hide or ploughland (raised first by King *Ethelred*, to bribe the *Danes*, after to warre vpon them) hee would not haue it made an Annuall payment, but onely taken vpon vrgent occasion, and it was seldome gathered in his time, or his successors (saith *Geruasius*) yet wee finde in our Annals, a taxe of 6. shillings vpon euery hide-land, leauied presently after the generall suruey of the Kingdome. *Escuage* (whether it were an imposition formerly laide, though now newly named, I doe not find) was a summe of money, taken of euery Knights fee: In after times, especially raised for the seruice of *Scotland*; And this also, saith *Geruasius*, was seldome leauied but on great occasion, for stipends, and donatiues to souldiers; yet was it at first a due, reserued out of such lands as were giuen by the Prince for seruice of warre; according to the Custome of other Nations. As in the *Romans* time wee finde Lands were giuen in reward of seruice to the men of warre, for terme of their liues, as they are at this day in *Turkey*: After they became Parrimoniall, & hereditarie to their children, *Seuerus* the Emperor was the first who permitted the children of men of warre, to inioy their Fiefs, prouided that they followed Armes. *Constantine* to reward his principall Captaines, granted them a perpetuity in the Lands assigned them. The estates which were but for life, were made perpetuall in *France*, vnder the last Kings of the race of *Charlemaine*. Those Lords who had the great Fiefs of the King, sub-deuided them to other persons, of whom they were to haue seruice.

He imposed no new taxations.

The occasion of paying *Escuage.*

The Custome of Fiefs.

By what meanes he increased his Reuenues.

Mulctuary profits, besides, such as might arise by the breach of his Forest-lawes, hee had, few or none new, vnlesse that of Murther, which arose vpon this occasion.

In

In the beginning of his raigne, the rankor of the English towards the new-come *Normans*, was such, as finding them single in woods, or remote places; they secretly murthered them; and the deed doers (for any the seuerest courses taken) could neuer bee discouered: whereupon, it was ordained, that the Hundred, wherein a *Norman* was found slaine and the murtherer not taken, should bee condemned to pay to the King: some 36 pounds, some 28 pounds, according to the quantity of the Hundred, that the punishment, being generally inflicted, might particularly deter them, & hasten the discouery of the malefactor, by whom so many must (otherwise) be interessed.

The law for Murther, renued, first made, by King *Knute, vide* Appen.

For his prouisionary reuenues, he continued the former custome held by his predecessors, which was in this manner. The Kings Tenants, who held their Lands of the Crowne, paide no money at all; but onely Victuals, Wheate, Beifes, Muttons, Hay Oates, &c: And a iust note of the quality and quantity of euery mans ratement was taken throughout all the Shieres of the Kingdome, and leauied euer certaine, for the maintenance of the Kings house. Other ordinarie in-come of ready moneys was there none, but what was raised by mulcts, and out of Cities and Castles where Agriculture was not vsed. What the Church yeelded him, was by extent of a power that neuer reached so farre before; and the first hand, hee layd vpon that side which weighed heauily, was his seizing vpon the Plate, Iewels, and Treasure within all the Monasteries of *England*, pretending the rebels, and their assistants, conueyed their riches into these religious houses (as into places priuiledged, and free from seizure) to defraud him thereof.

Geruasius Tilb.

King *William* seased vpon the Treasure committed to Monasteries.

Besides this, he made all Bishoprickes, and Abbeys that held Barronies (before that time free from all secular seruices) contributary to his warres, and his other occasions. And this may be the cause why they, who then onely held the Pen (the Scepter, that rules ouer the memory of Kings) haue laide such an eternall imposition vpon his name, of rigour, oppression, and euen barbarous immanity, as they haue done. When the nature & necessary disposition of his affaires (being as he was) may aduocate for him, & in many things much excuse his courses. But this name of Conquest, which euer imports violence and misery, is of so harsh a sound, and so odious in nature, as a people subdued cannot giue a Conquerour his due (how euer worthy) and especially to a stranger, whom onely time must naturalize, and incorporate by degrees, into their liking and opinion. And yet therein this King was greatly aduantaged, by reason of his twenty yeares gouernment, which had much impaired the memory of former customes in the yonger sort, and well inured the elder to the present vsances and forme of State, whereby the rule was made more easie to his sonnes: who (though they were farre inferiour to him in worth) were somewhat better beloued, then he; and the rather, for that their occasions made them, somewhat to vnwrest the Soueraignty from that height, whereunto he had strayned it.

How hee was vnderset with able ministers for the managing of these great affaires of his, though time hath shut vs out from the knowledge of some of them (it being in the fortune of Kings, to haue their ministers like riuers in the Ocean, buried in their glory) yet no doubt, being of a strong constitution of iudgement, hee could not but be strongly furnished in that kind; for weake Kings haue euer weake sides, and the most renowned Princes are alwaies best stored with able ministers. The principall of highest imployment, were *Odon*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, and Earle of *Kent*: *Lanfranc*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *William Fitz Auber*, Earle of *Hereford*: *Odon* supplied the place of Vice-roy in the Kings absence, and had the management of the Treasury. A man of a wide and agile spirit, let out into as spacious a conceipt of greatnesse, as the heighth of his place could shew him: And is rumor'd by the infinite accumulation of mony (which his auarice, & length of office had made) either to buy the Popedome, or to purchase the people of *England*, vpon the death of the King his brother: who (vnderstanding he had a purpose of going to *Rome*, and seeing a mighty confluence of followers gathering vnto him) made a close prison stay his iourney: excusing it to the Church, that he imprisoned not a Bishop of *Bayeux*, but an Earle of *Kent*, an Officer accomptant vnto him. Yet, vpō his death-bed shortly following (after many obsecrations, that he would, in respect of bloud & nature, be a kind mean for the future peace of his sons) he released him.

His Counsellors.

The Bishop of *Bayeux* as an Earle of *Kent* committed to prison.

Reserued for greater mischiefe.

But the Bishop failed his request therein, and became the onely kindlefire to set them all into more furious combustion. The motiue of his discontent (the engine wherewithall Ambition euermore turnes about her intentions) was the enuy he bare to *Lanfranc*, whose councell, in his greatest affaires, the King especially vsed: and to oppose and ouer-beare him, he tooke all the contrary courses, and part with *Robert*, his Nephew, whom (after many fortunes) hee attended to the holy warre, and died in the siege of *Antioche*.

Lanfranc.

Lanfranc was a man of as vniuersall goodnesse, as learning, borne in *Lumbardie*, and came happily a stranger, in these strange times to doe good to *England*; vpon whose obseruance, though the King might (in regard hee raised him) lay some tye, yet his affections could not but take part with his piety and place: in so much as hee feared not to oppose against *Odon*, the Kings brother, seeking to gripe from the State of his Church: And in all he could, stood so betweene the kingdome and the Kings rigor, as stayed many precipitious violencies, that he (whose power lay as wide as his wil) might else haue fallen into. For the Conqueror (howsoeuer austere to others) was to him alwaies milde and yeelding, as if subdued with his grauity, and vertue.

The Reformation of the Clergie by *Lanfranc.*

He reformed the irregularity, and rudenesse of the Clergie, introducing a more Southerne formalitie and respect, according to his breeding, and the Custome of his Country: concurring herein likewise to be an actor of alteration (though in the best kinde) with this change of State. And to giue entertainment to deuotion, hee did all he could to furnish his Church with the most exquisite ornaments might be procured: added a more State and conueniencie to the structure of religious houses, and beganne the founding of Hospitals. Hauing long struggled, with indefatigable labour, to hold things in an euen course, during the whole raigne of this busie new state-building King, and after his death, seeing his successor in the Crowne (established especially by his meanes) to faile his expectation, out of the experience of worldly causes, deuining of future mischiefes by present courses, grew much to lament (with his friends) the teadiousnesse of life, which shortly after hee mildly left, which such a sicknesse, as neither hindred his speech nor memory: a thing he would often desire of God.

William Fitz Auber Earle of *Hereford*, made Lawes in his Prouince.

William Fitz Auber (as is deliuered) was a principall councellor and instument in this action for *England*; wherein hee furnished forty ships at his owne charge. A man of great meanes, yet of a heart greater, and a hand larger then any meanes would well suffice. His profuse liberalities to men of armes, gaue often sharpe offence to the King, who could not indure any such improuident expences. Amongst the Lawes hee made (which shewes the power these Earles then had in their Prouinces) he ordained, *That in the Countie of* Hereford, *no man of (or souldiour) should bee fined for anie offence whatsoeuer, aboue seuen shillings*; when in other Countries, vpon the least occasion of disobeying their Lords will, they were forced to pay 20. or 25. shil. But his estate seeming to beare no proportion with his minde (& enough it was not to be an eminent Earle, an especiall Councellor, in all the affaires of *England*, and *Normandie*, a chiefe fauorite to so great a Monarch) but that larger hopes drew him away; designing to marrie *Richeld*, Countesse dowager of *Flanders*, and to haue the gouernment of that Countrie, during the non-age of *Arnulph* her sonne; of whom, with the King of *France*, he had the tutelarie charge, committed by *Baldouin* the sixth, Father to *Arnulph*; whose estate, *Robert Le Frison*, his Vncle (called by the people to the gouernment, vpon the exactions inflicted on them by *Richeld*) had vsurped. And against him *Fitz Auber* opposing, was with *Arnulph*, surprized and slaine.

The death of *William* the first.

And this was in the fate of the Conqueror, to see most of all these great men, who had beene the especiall actors in all his fortunes, spent and extinct before him; As *Beaumont*, *Monfort*, *Harcourte*, *Hugh de Gourney*, *Vicount Neele*, *Hugh de Mortimer*, *Conte de Vannes* &c. And now himselfe, after his being brought sicke to *Rouan*, and there disposing his estate, ended also his act, in the 74 yeare of his age, and the one and twenty of his raigne.

Three dayes the Corpes of this great Monarch is sayd to haue layne neglected while his

his seruants attended to imbessill his moueables: in the end, his yongest sonne *Henry*, had it conueyed to the Abbey of *Cane*; where first at the entry into the Towne, they who carried the Corpes, left it alone, and ran all to quench a house on fire: Afterward brought to be intombed, a Gentleman stands forth, and in sterne manner, forbids the interment in that place, claiming the ground to be his inheritance, descended from his Ancestors, and taken from him at the building of that Abbey, appealing to *Row*, their first founder, for Iustice: whereupon they were faine to compounded with him for an Annuall rent. Such adoe had the body of him after death (who had made so much in his life) to be brought to the earth; and of all he attained, had not now a roome to containe him, without being purchased at the hand of another, men esteeming a liuing Dogge more then a dead Lyon.

His Corps lay vnburied 3. dayes.

His interment hindered.

He had a faire issue by *Maude* his wife, foure sonnes, and sixe daughters. To *Robert* his eldest, he left the Duchy of *Normandy*: to *William* the third sonne, the Kingdome of *England*: to *Henry* the yongest, his treasure, with an annuall pension to be payd him by his brothers. *Richard* who was his second sonne, and his darling, a Prince of great hope, was slaine by a Stagge hunting in the new Forrest, and began the fatalnesse that followed in that place, by the death of *William* the second, there slaine with an arrow, and of *Richard*, the sonne of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, who brake his necke.

His issue.

His eldest daughter *Cicilie*, became a Nunne, *Constance* married to the Earle of *Brittaine*: *Adula* to *Stephen* Earle of *Blois*, who likewise rendred her selfe a Nunne in her age; such was then their deuotion, and so much were these solitary retires, affected by the greatest Ladies of those times: *Gundred* married to *William de Warrein*, the first Earle of *Surrey*, the other two *Ela* or *Adeliza* and *Margaret* died before marriage.

Now, what he was in the circle of himselfe in his owne continent, we find him of an euen stature, comely personage, of good presence, riding, sitting, or standing, till his corpulency increasing with age, made him somewhat vnwildy, of so strong a constitution, as he was neuer sickly till a few moneths before his death. His strength such, as few men could draw his Bow, and being about 50. of his age, when he subdued this Kingdome, it seemes by his continuall actions, he felt not the weight of yeares vpon him, till his last yeare.

The description of *William* the first.

What was the composition of his mind; we see it (the fairest) drawne in his actions, and how his abilities of Nature, were answerable to his vndertakings of Fortune, as pre-ordained for the great worke he effected. And though he might haue some aduantage of the time, wherein we often see men preuaile more by the imbecility of others, then their owne worth; yet let the season of that world be well examined, and a iust measure taken of his actiue vertues, they will appeare of an exceeding proportion: Nor wanted he those incounters and concurrencies of sufficient able Princes, to put him to the triall thereof: Hauing on one side the *French* to grapple withall; on the other the *Dane*, farre mightier in people, and shipping then himselfe, strongly sided in this Kingdome, as eager to recouer their former footing here, as euer, and as well or better prepared.

His deuotion and mercy.

For his deuotion and mercy, the brightest starres in the Spheare of Maiesty, they appeare aboue all his other vertues, and the due obseruation of the first, the Clergie (that loued him not) confesse: the other was seene, in the often pardoning, and receiuing into grace, those (who rebelled against him) as if he held submission satisfactory, for the greatest offence; and sought not to defeit men, but their enterprises: For we find but one Noble man executed in all his Raigne, and that was the Earle *Waltheof*, who had twice falsified his faith before: And those he held prisoners in *Normandy*, as the Earles *Morchar* and *Siward*, with *Wolfnoth*, the brother of *Harald*, and others (vpon compassion of their indurance) he released a little before his death.

But one Noble man executed in all the time of this Kings Raigne.

Besides, he was as farre from suspition, as cowardize, and of that confidence (an especiall note of his magnanimity) as he gaue *Edgar* his competitor in the Crowne, the liberty of his Court: And (vpon his suite) sent him well furnisht to the holy warre, where he nobly behaued himselfe, and attained to great estimation, with the Emperours of *Greece* and *Almaine*, which might haue beene held dangerous, in respect of his alliances

alliances that way, being graund-child to the Emperour *Henry* the third. But these may be as well vertues of the Time, as of Men, and so the age must haue part of this commendation.

He was a benefactor to Nine Abbeys of Monkes, and one of Nunnes, founded by his Predicessors in *Normandy*, and during his owne time were founded in the same Prouince seuen Abbeys of Monkes and sixe of Nunnes; with which fortresses (as he sayd) he furnisht *Normandy*; to the end men might therein fight against the flesh, and the Diuell. In *England* he founded a goodly Abbey, where he fought his first Battell, whereof it had the Denomination, and two Nunneries, one at *Hinching-Brooke* in *Huntingdon shire*, and the other at *Armthewt* in *Cumberland*, besides his other publique workes.

His workes of piety.

Magnificent he was in his Festiuals, which with great solemnity and ceremony (the formall entertainers of reuerence and respect) he duly obserued. Keeping his *Christmas* at *Glocester*, his Easter at *Winchester*, and Penticost at *Westminster*: whither he summoned his whole Nobility; that Embassadors and Strangers might see his State, and largenesse. Nor euer was he more milde and indulgent, then at such times. And these Ceremonies his first Successor obserued; but the second omitted.

The end of the Life, and Raigne, of William the first.

The Life, and Raigne, of William the second.

1087. *Anno. Reg.* 1.

WILLIAM, second sonne to *William* the first, not attending his Fathers funerall, hasts into *England* to recouer the Crowne, where (by the especiall mediation of the Arch-bishop *Lanfranc*, his owne large bounty, and wide promises) he obtained it, according to his Fathers will; to whom, by his obsequiousnesse he had much indeered himselfe, especially after the abdication of his elder brother *Robert*. He was a Prince more gallant, then good, and hauing beene bred with the sword, alwayes in action, and on the better side of fortune, was of a nature rough, and haughty, whereunto, his youth, and Soueraignty added a greater widenesse. Comming to succeed in a Gouernment, fore-ruled by mature, and graue Counsell, he was so ouer-whelmed with his Fathers worth and greatnesse, as made him appeare of a lesser Orbe then otherwise he would haue done. And then the shortnesse of his Raigne, being but of thirteene yeates; allowed him not time to recouer that opinion, which the errors of his first Gouernment had lost, or his necessities caused him to commit. For, the succession in right of *Primogeniture*, being none of his, and the elder brother liuing: howsoeuer his fathers will was, he must now be put, and held in possession of the Crowne of *England*, by the Will of the Kingdome; which to purchace (must be) by large conditions of relieuements in generall, and profuse guifts in particular. Wherein he had the more to do, being to deale with a State consisting, of a twofold body (and different temperaments where any inflammation of discontent, was the more apt to take) hauing a head where-to it might readily gather. Which made, that vnlesse he would lay more to their hopes then another, he could not hope to haue them firmely his. And therefore seeing the best way to winne the *Normans*, was by money, and the *English*, with liberties, he spared not at first, to bestow on the one, and to promise the other, more then befitted his estate, and dignity; which, when afterward failing, both in supplies (for great giuers must alwayes giue) and also in performances, got him farre more hatred then otherwise he could euer haue had, being forced to all the dishonorable shifts for raising moneys that could be deuised, and euen to resume his owne former graunts.

William the second resumes his owne Graunts.

And to begin at first to take the course to be euer needy, presently after his Coronation, he goes to *Winchester*, where his Fathers Treasure laye, and empties out all that; which, with great prouidence, was there amassed: whereby, though he wonne the loue of many, he lost more, being not able to content all. And now although his brother *Robert* had not (this great Engine) mony, he had to giue hopes: and there were here of the *Normans*, as *Odon* his Vnkle, *Roger de Mongomery* Earle of *Shrewesbury*, with others,

others, who were mainly for him, and worke he doth all hee can, to batter his brothers fortunes, vpon their first foundation. And for this purpose borowes great summes of his younger brother *Henry* (to whom the father and mother had left much Treasure) and for the same, ingages the Country of *Constantine*, and leauies an Army for *England*. But *William* newly inuested in the Crowne, though well prepared for all assaults, had rather purchase a present peace (by mediation of the Nobles on both sides) till time had better setled him in his gouernment) then to raise spirits that could not easily bee allayed. And an agreement betweene them is wrought, that *William* should hold the Crowne of *England* during his life, paying to *Robert* three thousand Markes *Per annum*.

Robert of *Normandy* borrowes summes of his brother *Henry*, to purchase the kingdome of *England*.

Robert hauing closed this businesse, resumes by force the Country of *Constantin* out of his brother *Henries* hands, without discharge of those summes, for which hee had ingaged it. Whereupon King *William* obrayds *Henry* (with the great gaine hee had made by his vsurie) in lending money to depriue him of his Crowne. And so *Henry* got the hatred of both his brothers, and hauing no place safe from their danger where to liue; surprized the Castle of Mount Saint *Michel*, fortifies him therein, gets ayde of *Hugh* Earle of *Brittaine*, and for his money was serued with *Brittains*, who committed great spoyles, in the Countries of *Constantin* and *Bessin*.

Odon for malice to *Lanfranc*, seekes to distract the Kings forces.

Odon, Bishop of *Bayeux*, returning into *England*, after his imprisonment in *Normandie*, and restored to his Earledome of *Kent*, finding himselfe so farre vnder what he had beene, and *Lanfranc* his concurrent, now the onely man in councell with the King, complots with as many *Norman* Lords as hee found, or made to affect change, and a new maister, and sets them on worke in diuers parts of the Realme to distract the Kings forces: as first *Geoffery* Bishop of *Constans*, with his nephew *Robert de Mowbray* Earle of *Northumberland* fortifie themselues in *Bristow*, and take in all the Country about: *Roger de Bigod*, made himselfe strong in *Northfolke*: *Hugh de Grandemenill* about *Leicester*: *Roger de Mongomerie* Earle of *Shrewsbury* with a power of *Welshmen*, and other there about, sets out accompanied with *William* Bishop of *Durham*; *Bernard de Newmarch*. *Roger Lacie*, and *Raulfe Mortimer*, all *Normans*, and assaile the Citie of *Worcester*, making themselues strong in those parts. *Odon* himselfe fortifies the Castle of *Rochester*, makes good all the coast of *Kent*, sollicites *Robert* to vse what speed he could to come with all his power out of *Normandie*: which had hee done in time, and not giuen his brother so large oportunitie of preuention, he had carried the Kingdome; but his delay yeelds the King time to confirme his friends, vnder-worke his enemies, and make himselfe strong with the *English*, which he did by granting relaxation of tribute, with other relieuements of their doleances, and restoring them to their former freedom of hunting in all his woods and forests, a thing they much esteemed; whereby hee made them so strongly his, as hee soone brake the necke of all the *Norman* conspiracies (they being egar to reuenge them of that Nation) and here they learned first to beate their Conquerors, hauing the faire aduantage of this action, which cut the throates of many of them.

The King vnderworkes his enemies, by releeuing the doleances and granting former freedoms to the English.

1088. *Anno.* *Reg.* 2.

Mongomerie, being wonne from his complices, and the seuerall conspirators in other parts represt, the King comes with an Army into *Kent*, where the head of the faction lay, and first wonne the Castle of *Tunbridge*, and that of *Pemsey*, which *Odon* was forced to yeeld, and promise to cause those which defended that of *Rochester*, which were *Eustace*, Earle of *Bologne*, and the Earle of *Mortaigne*, to render likewise the same. But being brought thither to effect the businesse, they within, receiuing him, detayned him, as hee pretended, prisoner, and held out stoutly against the King vpon a false intelligence giuen of the ariuall of Duke *Robert* at *Southampton*, but in the end they were forced to quit the place, and retire into *France*, and *Odon* to abiure *England*.

And to keepe off the like danger from hence he transports his forces into *Normandie*, there to waste and weaken his brother at home. So, as might hold him from any future attempts abroad for euer after. Where first he obtaines Saint *Valery*, and after *Albemarle* with the whole Countrey of *Eu*, *Fescampe*, the *Abathie* of mount Saint *Michel*, *Cherburge*, and other places. *Robert* seekes ayde of *Philip* King of *France*, who comes

who comes downe with an Army into *Normandy*; but ouercome with the power of money wherewith King *William* assayled him, did him little good, and so retired.

Duke *Robert* driuen to peace.

Whereupon Duke *Robert*, in the end, was driuen to a dishonorable peace, concluded at *Caen*, with these Articles. *First, that King* William *should hold the County of* Eu, Fescampe, *and all other places, which he had bought, and were deliuered vnto him, by* William *Earle of* Eu, *and* Stephen *Earle of* Aumal, *sisters sonne to* William *the first*. *Secondly, He should aide the Duke to recouer all other peeces which belonged to his Father, and were vsurped from the Duchy. Thirdly, that such* Normans, *as had lost their estates in* England, *by taking part with the Duke, should be restored thereunto. Fourthly, that the suruiuer of either of them should succeed in the Dominions both of* England *and* Normandy. After this peace made, by the mediation of the King of *France*, whilst *William* had a strong Army in the field, Duke *Robert* requested his aide against their brother *Henry*; who still kept him in the fort of mount *Michel*, vpon his guard, holding it best for his safety: For beeing a Prince that could not subsist of himselfe (as an earthen vessell set amongst iron pots) he was euery way in danger to be crusht; and seeing he had lost both his brothers by doing the one a kindnesse, if he should haue tooke to either (their turne being serued) his owne might be in hazard; and so betooke him to this defence. Forty dayes the two Princes layde siege to this Castle; And one day, as the King was alone on the shore, there sallies out of the Fort, a Company of horse; whereof three ranne at him so violently, and all strooke his horse together with their Launces; as they brake pectorall, girses, and all, that the horse slips away, and leaues the King, and the saddle on the ground: the King takes vp the saddle with both hands, and therewith defends himselfe till rescue came; and being blamed by some of his people for putting himselfe thus in perill of his life to saue his saddle, answered: *It would haue angred him, the* Bretons *should haue bragged, they had wonne the saddle from vnder him; and how great an indignity it was, for a King to suffer inferiours to force any thing from him.*

1089. *Anno.* *Reg.* 3.

1091. *Anno.* *Reg.* 4.

The Kings vndaunted valor.

The King and his two brethren agreed.

In the end *Henry* grew to extreame want of drinke and water; although he had all other prouision sufficient within his Fort, and sends to Duke *Robert* that he might haue his necessity supplied: The Duke sends him a Tunne of Wine, and graunts him truce for a day to furnish him with water. Wherewith *William* being displeased, Duke *Robert* told him: *It was hard to deny a brother meate, and drinke which craued it, and that if he perisht, they had not a brother.* Wherewith *William* likewise relenting, they sent for *Henry*, and an agreement is made; *That he should hold in morgage the Countrey of* Constantine, *till the money was paide, and a day appointed to receiue it at* Rouen.

1092. *Anno.* *Reg.* 5.

Which accord King *William* the rather wrought, to draw as much from *Robert* as he might, whom by this voyage he not onely had wasted, but possest himselfe of a safe and continuall landing place, with a part of his Duchy: and caused him to put from him, and banish out of *Normandy*; *Edgar Etheling*, whom *Robert* held his Pensioner, and as a stone in his hand, vpon all occasions to threaten *William* with anothers right, if his owne preuailed not: And besides, he wrought so as either through promise of mony, or some farther ratification to be made here, he brought his brother *Robert* with him ouer into *England*, and tooke him along in an expedition against *Malcolm*, who had incroched vpon his Territories, during his absence. Which businesse being determined without battell, *Robert*, soone after, returnes much discontented into *Normandy*, and as it seemes, without money to satisfie his brother *Henry*. Who repairing to *Rouan* at his day appointed, in stead of receiuing it, was committed to prison, and before he could be released, forced to renounce the Countrey of *Constantine*, and sweare neuer to claime any thing in *Normandy*.

Duke *Robert* commits his brother *Henry* to prison.

Henry complaines of this grosse iniustice, to *Philip* King of *France*, who gaue him a faire entertainement in his Court. Where he remained not long, but that a Knight of *Normandy*, named *Hachard*, vndertāking to put him into a Fort (maugre his brother *Robert*) within the Duchy; conueyed him disguised out of the Court, and wrought so, as the Castle of *Dampfront* was deliuered vnto him: whereby shortly after, he got all the Countrey of *Passays*, about it, and a good part of *Constantine*, by the secret aide of King *William*, *Richard de Riuieres*, and *Roger de Manneuile*.

1093. *Anno.* *Reg.* 6.

Duke

Duke *Robert* leuies forces, and eagerly wrought to recouer *Dampfront*; but finding how *Henry* was vnderset, inueighes against the perfidie of his brother of *England*: in so much as the flame of rankor burst out againe more then euer. And ouer, passes King *William* with a great Army, but rather to terrifie, then do any great matter; as a Prince that did more contend, then warre; and would be great with the sword, yet seldome desired to vse it; if he could get to his ends by any other meanes, seeking rather to buy his peace, then winne it.

Many skirmishes interpassed, with surprisements of Castles, but in the end a treaty of peace was propounded: wherein to make his conditions, what he would; King *William* seemes hard to be wrought, and makes the more shew of force; sending ouer into *England* for an Army of thirty thousand men, which being brought to the shore, ready to be shipped: an offer was made to be proclaimed by his Lieftenant, that giuing ten shillings a man, whosoeuer would, might depart home to his dwelling. Whereby was raised so much as discharged his expence, and serued to see the King of *France*, vnder-hand, for his forbearing aide to Duke *Robert*, who seeing himselfe left by the *French*, must needes make his peace as the other would haue it.

Now for his affaires at home, the vncertaine warres with *Wales*, and *Scotland*, gaue him more businesse then honour. Being driuen in the one to Incounter with mountaines in stead of men, to the great losse and disaduantage of his people, and in the other with as many necessities. *Wales*, he sought to subdue; *Scotland* so to restraine, as it might not hurt him. For the last, after much broyle, both Kings, seeming more willing to haue peace then to seeke it, are brought to an enteruiew. *Malcolin* vpon publicke faith, and safe-conduit came to *Glocester*; where, vpon the haughtinesse of King *William*, looking to be satisfied in all his demaunds, and the vnyeeldingnesse of King *Malcolin*, standing vpon his regality within his owne, though content to be ordered for the confines, according to the iudgement of the Primate of both Kingdomes; nothing was effected; but a greater disdaine; and rankor in *Malcolin*, seeing himselfe dispised, and scarce looked on, by the King of *England*. So that vpon his returne, armed with rage; he raises an Army, enters *Northumberland*, which foure times before he had depopulared; and now the fifth, seeking vtterly to destroy it, and to haue gone farther, was, with his eldest sonne *Edward* slaine, rather by the fraude then power of *Robert Mowbray* Earle of that County: The griefe of whose deaths, gaue *Margaret*, that blessed Queene, hers. After whom, the State elected *Dufnald*, brother to *Malcolin*, and chased our all the *English*, which attended the Queene, and were harbored, or preferred by *Malcolin*. King *William* to set the line right, and to haue a King there which should be beholding to his power, aides *Edgar*, the second sonne to *Malcolin* (who had serued him in his wars) to obtaine the Crowne due vnto him in right of succession: by whose meanes, *Dufnald* was expeld, and the State receiued *Edgar*, but killed all the aide he brought with him out of *England*, and capitulated that he should neuer more entertaine *English* or *Norman* in his seruice.

1084. *Anno.* *Reg.*7.

The King of *Scots*, & his son *Edward* slaine, causes Queene *Margaret* to dy with griefe. *Roger Houeden.*

This businesse setled; *Wales* strugling for liberty, and reuenge, gaue new occasion of worke: whither he went in person, with purpose to depopulate the Countrey: but they (retiring into the Mountaines and the Isle of *Anglesey*) auoided the present furie. But afterward, *Hugh* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and *Hugh* Earle of *Chester*, surprising the Isle (their chiefest retreit) committed there, barbarous examples of cruelty, by excœcations, and miserable dismembring the people, which immanity, was there suddenly auenged on the Earle of *Shrewsbury* with a double death, first shot into the eye, and then tumbling ouer-boord into the sea, to the sport and scorne of his enemy the King of *Norway*, who either by chance, or of purpose, comming vpon that coast from taking in the Orchades, encountred with him and that force he had at sea.

1085. *Anno.* *Reg.*8.

These were the remote businesses, when a conspiracy brake out within the body of the Kingdome, complotted by *Robert Mowbray* Earle of *Northumberland*, *William d'Ou*, and many others, who are sayd *to haue sought the destruction of the King, and the aduancement of* Stephen *Earle of* Albemare, *his Aunts sonne, to the Crowne*, which gaue the King more trouble then danger: for, by the speedy and maine prosecution of the businesse,

businesse (wherein hee vsed the best strength of *England*) it was soone ended, with the confusion of the vndertakers. But it wrought an ill effect in his nature, by hardening the same to an extreme rigor: for after the feare was past, his wrath, and cruelty were not; but (which is hideous in a Prince) they grew to bee numbred amongst incurable diseases.

The Earle was committed to the Castle of *Windsor*, *William d' Ou* at a Councell at *Salisbury* being ouercome in Duell (the course of triall) had his eyes put out, and his priuie members cut off. *William de Alueric*, his Sewer, a man of goodly personage, and altyed vnto him, was condemned to be hanged: though *both in his confession to* Osmond *the Bishop there, and to all the people as hee passed to his execution*, hee left a cleere opinion of his innocency, and the wrong hee had by the King.

But now; whilst these fractures heere at home, the vnrepairable breaches abroad, (were such) as could giue the King no longer assurednesse of quiet, then the attempters would: and that all the Christian world was out, either at discord amongst themselues, or in faction, by the schisme of the Church; Pope *Vrban*, assembling a generall Councell at *Cleirmont* in *Auergne*, to compose the affaires of Christendome, exhorted all the Princes thereof, to ioyne themselues in action, for the recouery of the Holy Land, out of the hands of infidels. Which motion, by the zealous negotiation of *Peter* the Hermit of *Amiens*; tooke so generally (meeting with the disposition of an actiue, and religious world) as turn'd all that flame; which had else consumed each other at home, vpon vnknowne Nations that vndid them abroad.

Such, and so great grew the heate of this action, made by the perswasion of the Iustice thereof, with the state and glory it would bring on earth, and the assurednesse of heauen to all the pious vndertakers, that none were esteemed to containe any thing of worth, which would stay behind. Each giues hand to other to leade them along, and example addes number. The forwardnesse of so many great Princes, passing away their whole estates, and leauing all what the deerenesse of their Country contained, drew to this warre 300000 men; all which, though in armes, passed from diuerse Countries and Ports, with that quietnesse, as they seemed rather Pilgrimes than Souldiers.

Peter the Hermit gets 300000 men to recouer the Holy Land.

Godefrey of *Bouillon*, Nephew and heire to the Duke of *Lorraine*, a generous Prince, bred in the warres of the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, was the first that offered vp himselfe to this famous voyage; and with him his two brothers, *Eustace*, and *Baudouin*, by whose examples were drawne *Hugh le Grand*, Count *de Vermondois*, brother to *Philip* King of *France*. *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, *Robert le Frison*, Earle of *Flanders*. *Stephen* Earle of *Blois*, and *Chartres*. *Aimar* Bishop of *Puy*, *William* Bishop of *Orange*: *Raimond* Earle of *Tholouse*: *Baudouin* Earle of *Hainaut*; *Baudouin*, Earle of *Rethel*, and *Garnier* Earle of *Gretz*: *Harpin* Earle of *Bourges*: *Ysoard* Earle of *Die*: *Rambaud* Earle of *Orange*: *Guillaum* Conte *de Forests*, *Stephen* Conte *de Aumaul*: *Hugh* Earle of Saint *Pol*; *Rotron* Earle of *Perche*, and others. These were for *France*, *Germany*, and the Countries adioyning. *Italie* had *Bohemond* Duke of *Apulia*; and *England*, *Beauchampe*, with others, whose names are lost: *Spaine* onely had none, being afflicted at that time with the *Sarazins*.

Most of all these Princes and great personages to furnish themselues for this expedition, sold, or ingaged their possessions. *Godefrey* sold the Dutchie of *Bologne* to *Aubert* Bishop of *Liege*, and *Metz* to the Citizens: besides he sold the Castle of *Sarteney*, and *Monsa* to *Richard* Bishop of *Verdun*: and to the same Bishop, *Baudouin*, his brother, sold the Earledome of *Verdun*. *Eustace* likewise sold all his liuelihood to the Church. *Herpin* Earle of *Bourges*, his Earledome to *Philip* King of *France*: and *Robert* morgaged his Dutchie of *Normandie*, the Earledome of *Maine*, and all hee had, to his brother King *William* of *England*. Whereby the Pope not onely weakened the Empire, with whom the Church had (to the great affliction of Christendome) held a long, and bloudie businesse, about the inuestitures of Bishops; tooke away and infeobled his partisans, abated, as if by *Ostrocisme*, the power of any Prince that might oppose him, but also aduanced the State Ecclesiasticall by purchasing these great temporalties,

1097. *Anno.* *Reg.* 10.

(more honorable for the sellers then the buyers) vnto a greater meanes then euer. For by aduising the vndertakers, seeing their action was for CHRIST and his Church: rather to make ouer their estates to the Clergie, of whom they might againe redeeme the same, and bee sure to haue the fayrest dealing; then vnto Lay men; he effected this worke. Whereby the third part of the best Fiefs in *France* came to bee possest by the Clergie: and afterward vpon the same occasion, many things more sold vnto them in *England*, especially when *Richard* the first vndertooke the voyage, who passed ouer diuers Mannors to *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham* (and also for his mony) created him Earle of *Durham*, as appeares in his life.

This humor was kept vp, and in motion almost 300 yeares, notwithstanding all the discouragements, by the difficulties in passing, the disasters there through contagion arising from a disagreeing clime: and the multitudes of indigent people, cast oftentimes into miserable wants. It consumed infinit Treasure, and most of the brauest men of all our West world, and especially *France*. For *Germanie*, and *Italie*, those who were the Popes friends, and would haue gone, were stayed at home by dispensation to make good his partie against the Emperour, who notwithstanding still strugled with him, but in the end, by this meanes the Pope preuailed. Yet these were not all the effects this voyage wrought: the Christians who went out to seeke an enemy in *Asia*, brought one thence: to the daunger of all Christendome, and the losse of the fairest part thereof. For this long keeping it in a warre, that had many intermissions with fits of heates and coldnesses (as made by a league, consisting of seuerall Nations, emulous, and vnconcurrent in their courses) taught such, as were of an entire bodie, their weakenesses, and the way to conquer them. This was the great effect, this voyage wrought.

An Emperour of *Germany*, 2 Kings of *France* with their wiues, a King of *England*, and a King of *Norwey* went all thither in person.

And by this meanes King *William* here was now ridde of an elder brother, and a Competitor, had the possession of *Normandy* during his raigne, and more absolutenesse, and irregularity in *England*. Where now, in making vp this great summe to pay *Robert*, he vsed all the extreme meanes could be deuised: as hee had done in all like businesses before. Whereby he incurred the hatred of his people in generall, and especially of the Clergie, being the first King which shewed his successors an euill precedent of keeping their Liuings vacant, and receiuing the profits of them himselfe, as he did that of *Canterbury*, foure yeares after the death of *Lanfranc*: and had holden it longer, but that being dangerously sicke at *Glocester*, the sixth yeare of his raigne, his Clergie, in the weakenesse of his body, tooke to worke vpon his minde, so as hee vowed, vpon his recouerie to see all vacancies furnished, which he did, but with so great adoe, as shewed that having escaped the daunger hee would willingly haue deceiued the Saint. And *Anselme*, an *Italian* borne, though bred in *Normandy*, is in the end preferred to that Sea. But, what with his owne stiffenesse, and the Kings standing on his regalitie, he neuer enioyed it quietly vnder him. For betweene them two, began the first contestation about the inuestitures of Bishops, and other priuiledges of the Church, which gaue much to doe, to many of his successors. *Anselme* not yeelding to the Kings will, forsooke the Land, whereupon his Bishopricke was re-assumed and the King held in his hands at one time, besides that of *Canterburie*, the Bishoptickes of *Winchester*, *Sarum*, and eleuen Abbayes whereof he tooke all the profits.

1099. *Anno. Reg.* 12.

He vsually sold all spirituall preferments to those would giue most, and tooke fines of Priests for fornication: he vexed *Robert Bluet* Bishop of *Lincolne* in suite, till hee payd him 5000 pounds. And now the Clergie, vpon this raxe, complayning their wants, were answered, *That they had Shrines of Gold in their Churches; and for so holy a worke, as this warre against infidels, they should not spare them.* Hee also tooke money of Iewes, to cause such of them as were conuerted, to renounce Christianity, as making more benefit by their vnbeleefe, then their conuersion. Wherein hee discouered the worst peece of his nature, *Irreligion*.

The Kings shew of religion.

Besides his great taxations layd on the Layetie, he set informers vpon them, and for small transgressions made great penalties. These were his courses for raysing moneys, wherein

The antiquity of Informers.

This *Raulph* gaue a thousand pounds for his Bishopricke, and was the Kings Chancellour. Profusion euer in want.

wherein he failed nor of fit Ministers to execute his will, among whom was chiefe, *Raulph* Bishop of *Durham*, whom he had corrupted with other Bishops to counterpoise the Clergie, awe the Layety, and countenance his proceedings. All which meanes, he exhausted, either in his buildings (which were the new Castle vpon *Tine*, the Citty of *Carleil*, *Westminster-Hall*, and the walles of the Tower of *London*) or else in his prodigall gifts to strangers. Twice he appeased the King of *France* with money, and his Profusion was such, as put him euermore into extreme wants.

This one Act, shewes both his violence and magnanimity: As he was one day hunting, a Messenger comes in all haste out of *Normandy*, and tels him how the Citty of *Mans* was surprised by *Hely* Conte *de la Flesche* (who by his Wife pretended right thereunto, and was aided by *Fouques d'Angiers*, the antient enemy to the Dukes of *Normandy*) and that the Castle which held out valiantly for him, was, without present succour, to be rendered. He sends backe the Messenger instantly, wils him to make all the speed he could, to signifie to his people in the Castle, that he would be there within eight daies, if Fortune hindred him not. And sodainely he askes of his people about him, which way *Mans* lay, and a *Norman* being by, shewed him: Presently he turnes his Horse towards that Coast, and in great haste rides on: when some aduised him to stay for fit prouisons, and people for his iourney, hee said; *They who loue mee, will follow me.* And comming to imbarke at *Dartmouth*, the Maister told him the weather was rough, and there was no passing without eminent danger; *Tush*, said he, *set forward, I neuer yet heard of King that was drowned.*

By breake of day he arriued at *Harfleu*, sends for his Captaines, and men of warre to attend him all at *Mans*, whither hee came at the day appointed. Conte *de la Flesche*, hauing more right than power, after many skirmishes, was taken by a stratagem, and brought prisoner to *Rouen*; where, more inraged, then dismaide with his fortune, he let fall these words; that had hee not beene taken with a wile, hee would haue left the King but little Land on that side the sea, and were hee againe at libertie, they should not so easily take him. Which being reported; the King sent for him, *Set him at libertie, gaue him a faire Horse, bad him goe his waie, and doe his worst.* Which act ouercame the *Conte* more then his taking, and a quiet end was made betweene them. That he affected things of cost, euen in the smallest matters (is shewed) in the report of his finding fault with his seruant, which brought him a new paire of hose, whereof he demanding the price, was told how they cost three shillings, wherewith being angrie, he asked his seruant if that were a fit price of a paire of hose for a King, and willed him to goe presently and to buy those of a marke, which being brought him though they were farre worse, yet he liked them much better in regard they were said to haue cost more. An example of the Weare of the time, the humor of the Prince, and the deceipt of the seruant.

The King returnes into England with great iollity, as euer bringing home better fortune out of *Normandy*, then from any his Northerne expeditions: Feasts his Nobilitie with all Magnificence, in his new Hall, lately finished at Westminster, wherewith he found much fault for being built too little; saying, *It was fitter for a Chamber, then a Hall for a King of* England, and takes a plot for one farre more spacious to be added vnto it. And in this gayetie of State, when hee had gor aboue all his businesses, betakes him wholly to the pleasure of peace, and being hunting with his Brother *Henry* in the New Forrest, *Walter Terell*, a Norman, and his kinsman, shooting at a Deere (whether mistaking his marke, or not, is vncertaine) strake him to the heart. And so fell this fierce King, in the 43 yere of his age when he had raigned nie 12 yeres. A Prince, who for the first two yeares of his raigne (whilst held in, by the graue counsell of *Lanfranc*, and his owne feares) bare himselfe most worthily, and had beene absolute for State; had hee not after sought to bee absolute in power, which (meeting with an exorbitant will) makes both Prince, and people miserable.

The end of the Life, and Raigne, of William the second.

The

The Life, and Raigne, of Henry the first.

HENRY the yongest sonne of *William* the first, being at hand, and borne in *England* (which made much for him) was elected and crowned within foure dayes after his Brothers death; it being giuen out, that *Robert*, who should haue succeeded *William*, was chosen King of Ierusalem, and not like to giue ouer that Kingdome for this. Wherefore to settle *Henry* in the possession of the Crowne, all expedition possible was vsed, least the report of *Roberts* returning from the Holy warres (being now in *Apulia*, comming home) might be noysed abroad to stagger the State, which seemed generally willing to accept of *Henry*. The first actions of his gouernment tended all, to bayte the people, and sugar their subiection (as his predecessor) vpon the like interposition had done, but with more moderation and aduisednesse: this being a Prince better rectified in iudgement, and of a Nature more alayed, both by his sufferings, having sighed with other men vnder the hand of oppression, that taught him patience; & also, by hauing somewhat of the Booke, which got him opinion, & the Title of *Beauclarke*.

1100. *Anno.* *Reg.* 1.

First, to fasten the Clergy, *Hee furnishes with fit men, all those Vacancies which his Brother had kept emptie, reeals* Anselme *home to his Bishopricke of* Canterbury, *and restores them to all whatsoeuer priuiledges had beene infringed by his Predecessor.* And for the Layerie, *Hee not onely pleased them in their releeuements, but in their passion, by punishing the chiefe Ministers of their exactions*, which euermore eases the spleene of the people, glad to discharge their Princes of the euills done them (knowing how they cannot worke without hands) and lay them on their Officers, who haue the actiue power, where themselues haue but the passiue, and commonly turne as they are moued.

The ministers of exactions punished.

Ralph Bishop of *Durham*, chiefe Counsellor to the late King, a man risen by subtlety, of his Tongue (from infimous condition, to the highest employments) was committed to a streight and loathsome prison, being famed to haue put his Master into all these courses of exaction, and irregularities, and remaines amongst the examples of perpetuall ignominie. All dissolute persons are expelled the Court: the people eased of their impositions, and restored to their lights in the night, which after the *Couerfeu* Bell were forbidden them vpon great penalty, since the beginning of *William* the first. Many other good orders for the gouernment of the Kingdome are ordained, and besides to make him the more popular and beloued; hee matches in the Royall bloud of *England*, taking to wife *Maude*, daughter of *Margueret*, late Queene of *Scots*, and Neece to *Edgar Atheling*, descended from *Edmond Ironside*. A Lady that brought with her the inheritance of goodnesse shee had from a blessed mother, and with much adoe was won from her Cloister, and her vow to God, to descend to the world, and be a wife to a King.

Ralph Bishop of Durham committed to prison.

Dissolute persons expelled the Court.

Thus stood he entrenched in the State of *England*, when his brother *Robert* returning from the holy warres, and receiued with great applause into his Dutchy of *Normandy*, shakes the ground of all this businesse: the first yeare threatning, the second, arriuing with a strong Army at *Portsmouth*, to recouer the Crowne, appertayning vnto him by the course of succession having a mighty partie in *England* of the *Norman* Nobility; who either mooued with Conscience or their discontent (a sickenesse rising of selfe opinion, and ouer expectation) made any light occasion the motiue of reuolt. The Armies on both sides meete, and are readie to encounter, when, for auoyding Christian bloud, a treatie of peace was moued, and in the end concluded with these Articles:

Robert Duke of Normandy returnes from the holy warre.

1101. *Anno.* *Reg.* 2.

1. *That seeing* Henry *was borne since his father was King of* England, *which made him the eldest sonne of a King, though the last of a Duke and now inuested in the Crowne by the act of the Kingdome, hee should enioy the same during his life, paying to* Robert 3000 *markes* per annum. 2. *And* Robert *suruiuing, to succeed him.* 3. *That all, who had taken part with* Robert *should haue their pardon, and receiue no detriment.*

The agreement between *Henry* and his brother.

1102. *Anno.* *Reg.* 3.

This businesse thus fairely passed ouer, *Robert* of a generous and free Nature, staies and feasts with his Brother here in *England*, from the beginning of August till Michaelmas,

temporary, and according to desert. Which answere so much displeased the Earle, that though himselfe liued not to shew his hatred, yet his Sonne did, and ayded afterward *William*, the sonne of *Robert Curtoys*, in his attempts, for recouery of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, against King *Henry*.

Thus stood this King in the first part of his raigne: in the other, hee had more to doe abroad then at home, where hee had by his excellent wisdome so setled the gouernment, as it held a steady course without interruption, all his time. But now *Lewis le Grosse*, succeeding his father *Philip* the first, gaue him warning to looke to his State of *Normandy*: and for that he would not attend a quarrell, he makes one; taking occasion about the City of *Gisors*, scituate on the Riuer *Epre*, in the confines of *Normandy*, whilst *Louys* was trauailed with a stubborne Nobility, presuming vpon their Franchises, within their owne Signories, whereof there were many, at that time, about *Paris*, as the Contes of *Crecy*, *Pissaux*, *Dammartin*, *Champaigne*, and others, who by example, and emulation, would bee absolute Lords, without awe of a Maister, putting themselues vnder the protection of *Henry*, wo being neere to assist them, fostred those humors, which in sicke bodies most shew themselues. But after *Louys*, by yeares gathering strength, dissolued that compact, and made his meanes the more, by their confiscations.

King *Henry* quarrels with the King of France.

Now to entertaine these two great Princes in worke, the quarrell betweene the Pope and the Emperour, ministred fresh occasion. The Emperor *Henry* the fift, hauing (by the Popes instigation) banded against his Father; *Henry* the fourth, who associated him in the Empire, and held him prisoner in that distresse, as hee died, toucht afterwards with remorse of this act, and reproach of the State, for abandoning the rights of the Empire, leauies sixty thousand foote, and thirty thousand horse, for *Italy*, constraines the Pope and his Coledge to acknowledge the rights of the Empire, in that forme as *Leo* the fourth, had done to *Otho* the second, and before that, *Adrian* to *Charlemaigne*, according to the Decree of the Counsell of Rome, and made him take his Oath of fidelity betweene his hands, as to the true and lawfull Emperour. The Pope, so soone as *Henry* was departed home, assembles a Counsell, nullifies this acknowledgement, as done by force, and shortly after deceased. The Emperour, to make himselfe the stronger against his successors, enters into aliance with the King of England, takes to wife his daughter *Maud*, being but fiue yeares of age. After this, *Calixte* sonne of the Conte *de Burgogne*, comming to be Pope, and being French (vnto their great applause) assembles a Counsell at *Reimes*; were, by Ecclesiasticall sentence, *Henry* the fift is declared enemy of the Church, and degraded of his Imperiall Dignity. The King of England, seeing this Counsell was held in France, and composed chiefely of the *Galicane* Church, desirous to ouer-maister *Louys*, incenses his sonne in law the Emperour (stung with his disgrace) to set vpon him (as the Popes chiefe piller) on one side, and he would assaile him on the other. The Emperour easily wrought to such a businesse, prepares all his best forces: the King of *England* doth the like. The King of *France* seeing this storme comming so impetuously vpon him, wrought so with the Princes of *Germany*, as they, weighing the future mischiefe of a warre, vndertaken in a heate, with the importance of a kind Neighbour-hood, aduise the Emperour not to enter thereinto, till hee had signifyed to the King of *France*, the causes of his discontent. Whereupon an Embassage is dispatched: The King of *France* answers, *That hee grieued much to see the two greatest Pillars of the Church, thus shaken with these dissentions, whereby might bee feared, the whole frame would bee ruined: that hee was friend to them both, and would gladly bee an inter-dealer for concord, rather then to carry wood to a fire too fierce already, which hee desired to extinguish, for the good and quiet of Christendome.* This Embassage wrought so, as it disarmed the Emperour, glad to haue *Louys* a mediator of the accord betweene the Pope and him; to the great displeasure of the King of *England*, who expected greater matters to haue risen by this businesse. The accord is concluded at *Wormes*, to the Popes aduantage, to whom the Emperor yeelds vp the right of inuestitures of Bishops and other Benefices. But this was onely to appease, not cure the malady.

1108. *Anno. Reg.* 9.

The Popes Oath to the Emperour.

The Emperor *Hen.* 5. marries *Maud.*

Historie of *France.*

The King of France accords the Pope and Emperour.

The

The King of *England* disappointed thus of the Emperours assistance, proceeds notwithstanding in his intentions against *Louys*. And seeing he failed of outward forces, he sets vp a party in his Kingdome, to confront him: aiding *Theobald, Conte de Champaigne*, with so great power, as he stood to do him much displeasure: besides, he obtained a strong side in that Kingdome, by his aliances: for *Stephen*, Earle of *Blois*, had married his sister *Adela*, to whom this *Theobald* was Brother, and had wonne *Foulke*, Earle of *Anion* (an important neighbour, and euer an enemy to *Normandy*) to be his, by matching his sonne *William* to his daughter.

King *Henry* aides Conte *Theobald* against the king of *France*.

Louys on the other side, failes not to practise all meanes to vnder-worke *Henries* estate in *Normandy*, and combines with *William*, Earle of *Flanders*, for the restoring of *William*, the sonne of *Robert Curtoys*, to whom the same appertained by right of inheritance: and had the fairer shew of his actions, by taking hold on the side of Iustice.

The King of *France* combines with the Earle of *Flanders*, against King *Henry*.

Great, and many, were the conflicts betweene these two Princes, with the expence of much bloud and charge. But in the end, being both tyred, a peace was concluded, by the mediation of the Earle of *Anion*. And *William*, sonne to King *Henry*, did homage to *Louys* for the Duchy of *Normandy*: And *William*, the sonne of *Robert Curtoys*, is left to himselfe, and desists from his claime.

1116. *Anno. Reg.* 17.

Vpon the faire close of all these troubles, there followed presently an accident, which seasoned it with that sowernesse of griefe, as ouercame all the ioy of the successe. *William* the young Prince, the onely hope of all the *Norman* race, at seuenteene yeares of age, returning into *England*, in a ship by himselfe, accompanied with *Richard* his base brother, *Mary*, Countesse of *Perch*, their sister, *Richard*, Earle of *Chester*, with his wife, the Kings Neece, and many other personages of honour, and their attendants, to the number of 140. besides 50. Marriners, setting out from *Barbfleete*, were all cast away at Sea, onely a Butcher escaped. The Prince had recouered a Cock-boat, and in possibility to haue bene saued, had not the compassion of his sisters eyes drawne him backe to the sinking ship to take her in, and perish with his company.

Queene *Maud* liued not to see this disaster.

Which sudden clap of Gods iudgement, comming in a calme of glory, when all these bustlings seemed past ouer, might make a conscience shrinke with terror, to see oppression and supplantation repayd with the extinction of that, for which so much had bin wrought, and the line Masculine of *Normandy* expired in the third inheritor (as if to beginne the fate layde on all the future succession hither vnto; wherein the third heire in a right discent, seldome or neuer inioyed the Crowne of *England*, but that either by vsurpation or extinction of the male bloud, it receiued an alteration) which may reach Princes to obserue the wayes of righteousnesse, and let men alone with their rights, and God with his prouidence.

After this heauy disaster, this King is sayd neuer to haue bene seene to laugh, though within fiue moneths after, in hope to restore his issue, he married *Adalicia*, a beautifull young Lady, daughter to the Duke of *Louaine*, and of the house of *Loraine*, but neuer had child by her, nor long rest from his troubles abroad. For this rent at home, crackt all the chaine of his courtes in *France*. *Normandy* it selfe became wauering, and many adhered to *William* the Nephew: his great confederates are most regayned to the King of *France*: *Foulke*, Earle of *Anion* quarrels for his daughters dower: *Robert de Mellent*, his chiefe friend and Councellor, a man of great imployment, fell from him, conspired with *Hugh* Earle of *Monfort*, and wrought him great trouble.

Robert de Mellents conspiracie.

1123. *Anno. Reg.* 25.

But such was his diligence and working spirit, that he soone made whole all those ruptures againe. The two Earles himselfe surprizes, and *Anion*, death: which beeing so important a neighbour, as we may see, by matching a Prince of *England* there; the King fastens vpon it with another aliance, and discends to marry his daughter (and now onely child, which had beene wife to an Emperour, and desired by the Princes of *Lumbardy* and *Loraine*) to the now Earle *Geffery Plantagenet*, the sonne of *Foulke*.

Maud the Empresse maried to *Geffery Plantagenet*.

1126. *Anno. Reg.* 27.

The King of *Fraunce* to fortifie his opposition, entertaines *William* the Nephew, where now all the danger lay: and aides him in person, with great power to obtaine the Earledome of *Flanders*, whereunto he had a faire Title, by the defaillance of issue in the late Earle *Baldouin*, slaine in a battell in *Fraunce* against King *Henry*. But *William*, as

as if heire also of his fathers fortunes, admitted to the Earledome, miscarried in the rule, was depriued, and slaine in battaile; and in him all of *Robert Curtoys* perished.

And now the whole care of King *Henry*, was the setling of the succession vpon *Maude* (of whom he liued to see two sonnes borne) for which he conuokes a Parliament in *England*, wherein, an oath is ministred to the Lords of this Land, to bee true to her and her heires, and acknowledge them as the right inheritors of the Crowne. This oath was first taken by *Dauid*, King of *Scots*, Vncle to *Maude*, and by *Stephen*, Earle of *Bollogne*, and *Mortaine*, Nephew to the King, on whom hee had bestowed great possessions in *England*, and aduanced his brother to the Bishopricke of *Winchester*. And to make all the more fast, this oath was afterward ministred againe at *Northampton* in another Parliament.

1133. *Anno. Reg.* 34.

So that now all seemes safe and quiet, but his owne sleepes, which are said to haue beene very tumultuous, and full of affrightments, wherein hee would ofren rise, take his sword, and be in act, as if hee defended himselfe against assaults of his person, which shewed, all was not well within.

His gouernment in peace.

His gouernment in peace, was such as rankes him in the list amongst out Kings of the fairest marke: holding the Kingdome so well ordred, as during all his raigne, which was long, hee had euer the least to doe at home. At the first, the competition with his brother, after, the care to establish his succession, held him in, to obserue all the best courses, that might make for the good and quiet of the State; hauing an especiall regarde to the due administration of Iustice, that no corruption or oppression might disease his people, whereby things were carried with that euennesse, betweene the Great men and the Commons, as gaue all, satisfaction. Hee made diuers progresses, into remote parts of the Land, to see how the State was ordred. And for that purpose, when so euer he was in *England*, hee kept no certaine residence, but solemnized the great festiuals in seuerall, and farre distant places of the Kingdome, that all might pertake of him.

The first vse of Progresses.

The beginning of Parliaments. He assembles the first Parliament, after the Conquest. See Appen.

And for that he would not wrest any thing by an Imperiall power from the Kingdome (which might breed vlcers of dangerous nature) hee tooke a course to obtaine their free consents to serue his occasions, in their generall Assemblies of the three Estates of the Land, which hee first, conuoked at *Salisbury*, *Anno Reg.* 15. and which, had from his time the name of Parliament, according to manner of *Normandie*, and other States, where Princes keepe within their circles to the good of their people, their owne glorie, and securitie of their posteritie.

His reformations.

He was a Prince that liued formally himselfe, and repressed those excesses in his subiects which those times entertained, as the wearing of long haire, wich though it were a gayetie of no charge (like those sumptuous braueries, that waste Kingdomes in peace) yet for the vndecencie thereof, hee reformed it, and all other dissoluteneesse. His great businesses, and his wants taught him frugalitie, and warinesse of expence, and his warres being seldome *Inuasiue*, and so not getting, put him often to vse hard courses for his suppliments of treasure. Towards the marriage of his daughter with the Emperour, and the charge of his warre, he obtained (as it might seeme at his first Parliament at *Salisbury*) *Anno. Reg.* 15. three shillings vpon euery hide-land, but hee had no more in all his raigne, except one supply for his warres afterward in *France*. Hee kept Bishopricks and Abbayes voide in his hands, as that of *Canterbury*, fiue yeares together. By an act of Parliament at *London*. *Anno. Reg.* 30. he had permission to punish marriage, and inconrinencie of Priests, who (for fines notwithstanding) hee suffred to enioy their wiues, but hereby hee displeased the Clergie and disappointed that reformation.

His meanes to raise monies.

Vide Append.

Punishments which were mutilation of member, hee made pecuniarie. And by reason of his often, and long being in *Normandie*, those prouisions for his house, which were vsed to bee paide in kinde, were rated to certaine prices and receiued in money, by the consent of the State, and to the great content of the subiect; who by reason that many dwelling farre off throughout all shires of *England*, were much molested with satisfying the same otherwise. He resumed the liberties of hunting in his Forests, which

Tilburiensis de Scaccario.

which tooke vp much faite ground of the Kingdome; and besides renuing former penalties, made an Edict, *That if any man in his owne priuate woods, killed the Kings Deere, should forfeit his woods to the King*. But he permitted them inclosures for Parkes, which vnder him seemes to haue had their originall, by the example of that of his at *Woodstocke*, the multitude whereof grew to be afterward a disease in the Kingdome.

His expences were chiefly in his warres, and his many and great fortifications in *Normandy*. His buildings were the Abbey of *Reading*, the Mannor of *Woodstocke*, and the great inclosure of that Parke, with a stone wall seuen miles about. His expences.

The most eminent men of his Councell were, *Roger* Bishop of *Sarum*, and the Earle of *Mellent*, both, men of great experience in the affaires of the world. *Roger* was euer as Viceroy, had the whole management of the Kingdome in his absence, which was sometimes three, and foure yeares together. He had managed the Kings money and other affaires of his house, when he was a poore Prince, and a priuate man; whereby he gained an especiall trust with him euer after, and discharged his part with great policy and vnderstanding; had the title of *Iusticiarius totius Angliæ*. Of whose magnificence and spacious mind, we haue more memorials left in notes of stone, then of any one Man, Prince, or other of this Kingdome. The ruines yet remaining of his stately structures, especially that of the Deuises in *Wiltshire*, shewes vs the carkasse of a most *Roman*-like Fabricke. Besides he built the Castles of *Malmsbury* and *Shirburne*, two strong and sumptuous peeces: new walled and repaired the Castle of *Salisbury*, and all these he liued to see rent from him, and seased into the next Kings hands, as being things done out of his part, and lye now deformed heapes of rubble. Besides, he walled old *Salisbury*, and repaired the Church there. His Councellors. The magnificent buildings of *Roger* Bishop of Sarum.

Robert Earle of *Mellent*, was the son of *Roger Beaumont*; who of all the great men which followed *William* the first in his ciuill warres of *Normandy*, refused to attend him in his expedition for *England*, though with large promises inuited thereunto, saying: *The inheritance left him by his predecessors, was sufficient to maintaine his estate at home; and he desired not to thrust himselfe into other mens possessions abroad.* But his sonne *Robert* was of another mind, and had a mighty estate both in *England* and *Normandy*. Was a man of great direction in Councell, and euer vsed in all the weighty affaires of the State. His frugallity, both in apparell and diet, was of such example, being a man of eminent note, as did much good to the Kingdome in those dayes. But in the end he fell into disgrace, (the fate of Court, and eminency) opposed against the King, and died bereft of his estate. *Robert Mellent* an especiall Councellor to *Hen.* I. The example of frugallitie in great men doth much good in a Kingdome.

Besides these, this King was serued with a potent and martiall Nobility, whom his spirit led to affect those great designes of his in *France*, for the preseruation of his state in *Normandy*. Whither in the 32. yeare of his raigne, he makes his last voyage to dye there, and in his passage thither, happened an exceeding great Eclips of the Sunne, which was taken to fore-signifie his death; for that it followed shortly after in the thirty fiue yeare of his raigne. King *Henries* death.

He was of a gracefull personage, quick-eyed, browne haire (a different complexion from his brothers) and of a close compacted temperament, wherein dwelt a mind of a more solide constitution, with better ordered affections. He had, in his youth, some taste of learning; but onely, as if to set his stomake, not to ouer-charge it therewith. But this put many of his subiects into the fashion of the Booke, and diuers learned men flourished in his time. His personage.

He had by *Maude* his wife the daughter of *Malcolin* the third, King of *Scotland*, none other children but *Maude* and *William*, of whom any certaine mention is made: but he is said to haue had of children illigitimate seuen sonnes, and as many daughters, which shewes vs his incontinencie: two of which sonnes of most especiall note, *Robert* and *Raynold* were Earles, the one of *Glocester* (a great Champion and defender of his Sister *Maude* the Empresse) the other Earle of *Cornwall*, and Baron of *Castle-combe*. His daughters were all married to Princes and Noble men of *France* and *England*, from whom discended many worthy families, as diuers writers report. His issue.

The end of the Life, and Raigne, of Henry the first.

The

The Life, and Raigne, of King Stephen.

1135. Anno. Reg. 1.

THE Line *Masculine* of the *Norman* extinct, and onely a daughter left, and she married to a *French-man*, *Stephen* Earle of *Bologne*, and *Mortagne*, sonne of *Stephen*, Earle of *Blois*, and of *Adela*, daughter to *William* the first, was (notwithstanding the former oath taken for *Maud*) elected by the State, and inuested in the Crowne of *England*, within thirty daies after the death of *Henry*. Vpon what reasons of Councell, wee must gather out of the circumstances of the courses held in that time.

Reasons why *Maude* was nor crowned.

Some imagine, *The state refused* Maude, *for not being then the custome, of any other Kingdome Christian (whose Kings are annoynted) to admit women to inherit the Crowne*; and therefore they might pretend to bee freed from their oath, as being vnlawfull. But *Roger*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, one of the principall men then in councell, yeelded another reason for the discharge of this oath, which was, *That seeing the late King had married his daughter out of the Realme, and without the consent thereof, they might lawfully refuse her.* And so was *Stephen*, hauing no Title at all, but as one of the bloud, by meere election, aduanced to the Crowne. For if hee should claime any right in the Succession, as being the sonne of *Adela*, then must *Theobald*, Earle of *Blois*, his elder brother, haue beene preferred before him: and *Henry Fitz Empresse* (if they refused the mother) was nearer in bloud to the right Stem, then either. But they had other reasons that ruled that time.

Reasons why *Stephen* Earle of Bollogne was crowned King.

Stephen *was a man, and of great possessions, both in* England *and* France, *had one brother, Earle of* Blois, *a Prince of great estate: another, Bishop of* Winchester *(the Popes Legat in* England, *of power eminent) was popular for his affability, goodly personage, and actiuenesse*: and therefore acceptable to the Nobility, who, at that time, were altogether guided by the Clergy; and they (by the working of the Bishop of *Winchester*, induced to make choyce of him) hauing an opinion, that by preferring one, whose Title was least, would make his obligation the more to them: and so, they might stand (better secured of their liberties) then vnder such a one; as might presume of an hereditary succession. And to be the more sure thereof, before his admittance to the Crowne (he takes a priuate oath before the Bishop of *Canterbury*) *To confirme the ancient liberties of the Church*; and had his brother to vndertake, betwixt God and him, for the performance thereof.

King *Stephen* possesses the Treasure of *Hen.2.*

But being now in possession of the Kingdome, and all the Treasure his Vncle had in many yeares gathered, which amounted to *one hundred thousand pounds of exquisite siluer, besides plate and iewels, of inestimable value.* After the funerals performed at *Reading*, hee assembles a Parliament at *Oxford*, wherein, *hee restored to the Clergie, all their former liberties, and freed the Layetie from their tributes, exactions, or whatsoeuer grieuances oppressed them*, confirming the same by his Charter, which, faithfully to obserue, hee tooke a publique oath before all the Assembly: where, likewise the Bishops swore fealty vnto him, but with this condition; *So long as hee obserued the Tenour of this Charter.*

His first Parliament at Oxford.

And now as one that was to make good the hold he had gotten, with power, and his sword, prepares for all assaults, which hee was sure to haue come vpon him. And first graunts licence, to all that would, *to build Castles vpon their owne Lands*, thereby to fortifie the Realme, and breake the force of any ouer-running inuasion, that should maister the field. Which in setled times might bee of good effect, but in a season of distraction, and part-takings very dangerous. And being to subsist by friends, hee makes all he could; *Creates new Lords, giues to many, great possessions, and hauing a full purse spares for no cost to buy loue, and fidelitie:* a purchase very vncertaine, when there may bee other conueyances made of more strength to carry it.

Two waies hee was to looke for blowes: from *Scotland* on one side, and *France* on the other: *Scotland* wanted no instigators: *Dauid* their King, mooued both by Nature and his oath to his Neece, turnes head vpon him: *Stephen* was presently there, with the

the show of a strong Army, and appeased him with the restitution of *Cumberland*, and his sonne *Henry*, Prince of *Scotland* with the Earledome of *Huntingdon*: which; with that of *Northumberland* (as the Scottish writers say) was to discend vnto him by the right of his mother *Maude*, who was daughter to *Waltheof* Earle of *Huntingdon*, and of *Iudith* Neece to *William* the first, by whose guift hee had that Earledome, and was the sonne of *Syward* Earle of *Northumberland*. And for this the Prince of *Scotland*, tooke his Oath of fealty to King *Stephen* which the father refused to doe as hauing first sworne to *Maude* the Empresse. Though otherwise hee might bee indifferent, in respect that *Stephen* had married likewise his Neece, which was *Maude* daughter to the Earle of *Bologne*, and of *Mary* Sister to this King *Dauid*, who by this meane was Vncle both to *Maude* the Queene, and *Maude* the Empresse.

The King, retutning from this voyage, found some defection of his Nobilitie, which presently put him into another action, that intertayned him sometime: After which, hee falls daungerously sicke, in so much as hee was noysed to bee dead, by which sicknesse, hee lost more then his health: For his friends, put in daunger thereby, cast to seeke another partie to beare them vp: it wakened *Anion*, and sets him on to surprize certaine peeces in *Normandie*, to prepare for the recouerie of his wiues right, and made all this Kingdome wauer. Thus was his first yeare spent, which shewed how the rest of eighteene would proue, wherein wee are to haue no other representations, *But of reuolts, beseeging of Castles, surprizings, recouerings, loosings againe, with great spoyles, and destruction*; in brieſe a most miserable face of a distracted State, that can yeeld vs no other notes of instruction, but such as are generall in all times of like disposition: and therefore herein wee may the better forbeare the rehersall of manie particulars, being all vnder one head of action, and like Nature.

1137. *Anno. Reg.2.*

The King, hauing recouered, would make the world know he was aliue, and presently passes with forces into *Normandie*, ouercame the Earle of *Anion* in battaile: after makes peace with him, and vpon renouncing of the claime of *Maude*, *couenants to giue them* 5000. *markes* per annum: he intertaines amitie with King *Louys* the seuenth, and causes his sonne *Eustace* to doe him homage for the Dutchy of *Normandie*, wherein he was inuested: besides to content his elder brother *Theobald*, Earle of *Blois*, hee giues him *a pension of* 2000 *markes*, and so returnes againe into *England*, to a warre against *Scotland*, which, in the meane time, made incursions on this Kingdome, where whilst he was held busie in worke, *Robert* Earle of *Glocester*, base sonne to *Henry* the first, a man of high spirit, great direction and indefatigable industry (an especiall actor that performed the greatest part, in these times, for his sister *Maude*) had surprized the Castle of *Bristow*, and procured confederates to make good other peeces abroad in diuers parts: as *William Talbot* the Castle of *Hereford*; *Paynel* the Castle of *Ludlow*; *Louell* that of *Cary*: *Moone* the Castle of *Dunstor*: *Robert de Nichol*, that of *Warham*, *Eustace Fitz Iohn* that of *Walton*, and *William Fitz Allan* the Castle of *Shrewsbury*.

Robert Earle of Glocester the naturall sonne of *Henry* the first.

Stephen leaues the prosecution of the *Scottish* warres to *Thurstan* Archbishop of *Yorke*, whom hee made his Lieutenant, and furnished with many valiant leaders, as *Walter* Earle of *Albemarle*, *William Peuerell* of *Nottingham*; *Walter* and *Gilbert Lacies*. Himselfe brauely attended, bends all his power to represse the conspirators, which hee did in one expedition, recouers all the Castles (by reason of their distances, not able to succour one another) and draue the Earle of *Glocester* home to his sister into *Anion*.

King *Stephen* represses the conspirators.

No lesse successe had his forces in the North, against the *Scots*, whom in a great battaile they discomfeited and put to flight, which great fortunes meeting together in one yeare, brought foorth occasion of bad, in that following: for now presuming more of himselfe, he fell vpon those rockes that rent all his greatnesse. He calls a Councell at *Oxford*, where occasion was giuen to put him out with the Clergie, that had onely set him into the State. The Bishops vpon the permission of building Castles, so out-went the Lords in magnificence, strength and number of their erections, and especially the Bishop of *Salisbury* that their greatnesse was much maligned by

He defeited the Scots.

1138. *Anno. Reg.3.*

1140. Anno. Reg. 5.

by them, putting the King in head, that all these great Castles, especially of *Salisbury*, the *Vies*, *Shirburne*, *Malmsbury*, and *Newarke*, were onely to intertaine the partie of *Maude*, whereupon the King, whose feares were apt to take fire, sends for the Bishop of *Salisbury* (most suspected) to *Oxford*. The Bishop, as if foreseeing the mischiefe coming to him, would gladly haue put off this iourney, and excused it by the debilitie of his age, but it would not serue his turne: thither he comes, where his seruants, about the taking vp of lodgings, quarrell with the seruants of the Earle of *Brittaine*, and from words fall to blowes, so that in the bickering, one of them was slaine, and the Nephew of the Earle dangerously wounded. Whereupon the King sends for the Bishop, to satisfie his Court, for the breach of peace, made by his seruants: The satisfaction required, was *the yeelding vp the keyes of his Castles, as pledges of his fealtie*, but that being stood vpon, the Bishop, with his Nephew, *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincolne*, were restrayned of their libertie, and shortly after sent as prisoners to the Castle of the *Deuises*, whither (the Bishop of *Eley*, another of his Nephewes) had retired himselfe before. The King seizes into his hands his Castles of *Salisbury*, *Shyrburne*, *Malmesbury*, and after three daies assault, the *Deuises* was likewise rendred, besides he tooke all his Treasure, which amounted to forty thousand markes.

The King seizes vpon the Bishops Castles, and Treasure.

This action, being of an extraordinary straine, gaue much occasion of rumor: some said: *The King had done well in seizing vpon these Castles; it being vnfit, and against the Cannons of the Church, that they who were men of religion, and peace, should raise fortresses for warre, and in that sort as might bee preiudiciall to the King.* Against this, was the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Popes Legat, taking rather the part of his function, then that of a brother: saying: *That if the Bishops had transgressed, it was not the King, but the Cannons, that must iudge it: that they ought not to bee deprived of their possessions, without a publique Ecclesiasticall Counsell; that the King had not done it, out of the zeale of iustice, but for his owne benefit, taking away that which had beene built vpon the Lands, and by the charge of the Church, to put it into the hands of Lay men, little affected to religion:* And therefore to the end, the power of the Cannons might bee examined, hee appoints a Counsell to bee called at *Winchester*, whither the King is summoned: and thither repaire most of all the Bishops of the Kingdome, where first is read the Commission of the Legatine power, granted by Pope *Innocent* to the Bishop of *Winchester*, who there openly vrges the indignitie offred to the Church, by the imprisoning of these Bishops: *An act most haynous and shamefull for the King, that in the peace of his Court, through the instigation of euill ministers, would thus lay hands vpon such men, spoyle them of their estates. Which was a violence against God. And that seeing the King would yeeld to no admonitions, hee had at length called this Councell, where they were to consult what was to bee done: that for his part, neither the loue of the King, though his brother, nor the losse of his liuing, or danger of his life, should make him fayle in the execution of what they should decree.*

The Popes Legat a Bishop, takes part with Bishops against the King his brother. *Malmsburie.*

The King, standing vpon his cause, sends certaine Earles to this Councell, to know why he was called thither: answere was made by the Legat: *That the King, who was subiect to the faith of* CHRIST, *ought not to take it ill, if by the ministers of* CHRIST, *hee was called to make satisfaction, being conscious of such an offence as that age had not knowne: that it was for times of the Gentiles, for Bishops to bee imprisoned, and deprived of their possessions, and therefore they should tell the King, his brother, that if hee would vouchsafe to yeeld consent to the Councell, it should bee such, by the helpe of God, as neither the* Roman *Church, the Court of the King of* France, *nor the Earle* Theobald, *brother to them both (a man wise, and religious) should, in reason dislike it: that the King should doe aduisedly to render the reason of his act, and vndergoe a Canonicall iudgement: that hee ought in duetie to fauour the Church, into whose bosome being taken, hee was aduanced to the Crowne without any militarie hand.*

With which answere the Earles departed, attended with *Alberic de Ver*, a man exercised in the Law, and hauing related the same, are returned with the Kings reply, which *Alberic* vtters, *and vrges the iniuries Bishop* Roger *had done to the King: how hee seldome came to his Court: that his men, presuming vpon his power, had offred violence to the Nephew and seruants, of the Earle of* Brittaine, *and to the seruants of* Herui de Lyons, *a man of that*

The Kings Reply.

that Nobilitie and stoutnesse, as would neuer vouchsafe to come vpon any request to the late King, and yet for the loue of this, was desirous to see England: *where, to haue this violence offred was an iniury to the King, and dishonour to the Realme, that the Bishop of* Lincolne, *for the ancient hatred to the Earle of* Brittaine, *was the author of his mens sedition: that the Bishop of* Salisbury *secretly fauoured the Kings enemies; and did but subtlely temporize, as the King had found by diuers circumstances: especially when* Roger de Mortimer, *sent with the Kings forces in the great daunger of* Bristow, *hee would not lodge him one night in* Malmsbury: *that it was, in euery mans mouth, as soone as the Empresse came, He and his Nephewes would render their Castles vnto him. That he was arested, not as a Bishop, but a seruant to the King; and one that administred his procurations, and receiued his monies. That the King tooke not his Castles by violence, but the Bishop voluntarily rendred them, to auoyd the calumnie of their tumult raysed in his Court: If the King found some money in his Castles, hee might lawfully seize on it, in regard* Roger *had collected it out of the reuenues of the King his Vncle, and predecessor: and the Bishop willingly yeelded vp the same, as well as his Castles, through feare of his offences; and of this, wanted not witnesses of the Kings part, who desired that the couenants, made betweene him, and the Bishop, might remaine ratified.*

Against this, Bishop *Roger* opposes: *That he was neuer seruant to the King, nor receiued his moneys; and withall added threatnings, as a man, not yet broken, though bent with his fortunes: that if he found not iustice for his wrongs in that Councell, hee would bring it to the hearing of a greater Court.*

The Legat, mildly, as he did other things, said: *That all what was spoken against the Bishops, ought first to be examined in the Ecclesiasticall Councell, whether they were true or no, before sentence should haue beene giuen against them contrary to the Canons; and therefore the King should (as it is lawfull in iudiciall trials) reuest the Bishops in their former Estates, otherwise, by the law of Nations being disseised, they shall not hold their Plea.*

After much debate, the Kings cause was (vpon a motion) put off till the next day, to the end the Archbishop of *Roan*, an especiall instrument for the King, might bee there; who deliuering his opinion, said: *That if the Bishops could rightly prooue by the Canons, they ought to haue Castles, they should hold them; but if they could not, it proceeded of great improbitie to striue to doe otherwise. And be it (said he) their right to haue them; yet in a suspected time, according to the manner of other Nations: all great men ought to deliuer the keyes of their Fortresses, to be at the Kings pleasure, who is to fight for the peace of all. But it is not their right, by the decree of the Canons, to haue Castles; and if by the Princes indulgence it bee tollerated, yet in a time of necessitie, they ought to deliuer the keyes.*

The Lawier *Alberic* addes: *That it was signified to the King, how the Bishops threatned, and had furnished some to goto Rome against him. But, said he, the King would haue you know, that none of you presume to doe it: for if any goe out of England, contrarie to his will, and the dignitie of the Kingdome, it will be hard returning.* In conclusion the Councell brake vp, nothing was done. The Bishops durst not excommunicate the King, without the Popes priuitie: and besides, they saw the swords to busie about them, yet failed not the Legat, and the Archbishop to prosecute their parts, and from authority, fell to prayer; and (at the Kings feete, in his Chamber) *besought him, that hee would pittie the Church, pittie his owne soule, and his fame; not to suffer dissention to bee, betweene the Kingdome, and the Priest-hood.* The King returned them faire words, but held what hee had gotten.

The Legat and Archbishops submission.

Shortly after, through griefe, died the Bishop of *Salisbury*, and (according to the fate of ouer-eminent and greedy Officers) vnpittied. He was a man (in his latter time) noted of much corruption, and vnsatiable desire of hauing. For whom, the present King in the beginning of his reigne had done very much, makingone of his Nephewes Chancellor, the other Treasurer, and vpon his sute, gaue to himselfe the Borough of *Malmesbury*; insomuch as the King would say to his familiars about him: *If this man will begge thus still; I will giue him halfe the Kingdome but I will please him: and first shall he be weary of craving, ere I of granting.* And sure the King had great reason to suspect his adhering to *Maude*, whose part he beganne to fauour: onely, out of the hatred he bare to *Winchester*, who yet was content to forsake his owne brother, in regard, by his

his ingagement he was preferred to the Crowne, rather then to loose his good will, and the rest of the Clergie.

But yet this breaking of the King into the Church (which had made him) vtterly dissolued him. For presently hereupon all his power fell asunder : the Empresse found now away open to let her in, and the Earle of *Gloceſter* presuming of a sure side, conducted her into *England* onely with 150 men : puts her into the Castle of *Arundell*, and himselfe (attended but with twelue horse) passed away cleere through all the Country to *Bristow* : and from thence to *Gloceſter*, where he had leisure without opposition, to raise all the Country to take part with the Empresse; who, from *Arundell* Castle, was afterward (by the Legate himselfe, and the Kings permission) conueyed to *Bristow*: receiued with all obedience, grew daily in strength, as she went and came at length to her brother (who had taken in *Hereford*, made himselfe strong with the Welsh, and settled those parts) to gather vp more of the Kingdome by shewing herselfe and her power in diuers places.

Maude the Empresse conducted into England.

Stephen, hauing no part cleere (by reason the Castles, vpon which he spent both his time and meanes, lay so thicke blockes in his way) as he could not make that speed to stop this streame, as otherwise he would: holding it not safe to goe forward, and leaue dangers behinde, that might ouer-take him. And first hee layes siege to the Castle of *Wallingford*, which, *Brian* sonne to the Earle of *Gloceſter*, held against him: then to the Castle of *Bristow* and other places, working much, but effecting little: which seeing, to get time and stagger the swift proceeding of this new receiued Princesse, he causes a treatie of peace to be propounded at *Bathe*, where the Legat (who likewise earnestly solicited the same) with the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, were appointed Commissioners for the King; and the Earle of *Gloceſter* for the Empresse; but nothing was effected, both returne to make good their sides. The Empresse seekes to recouer more, the King what he had lost. And least the North parts might fall from him, and the King of Scots come on, hee repaires thitherward: and finding the Castle of *Lincolne* possest by *Ralph* Earle of Chester, who had married a daughter of the Earle of *Gloceſter*, and holding it not safe to bee in the hands of such a maister, in such a time, seekes to take it in by force. The Earle of *Chester*, who held Newtrall, attempting nothing against the King, tooke it ill, and stood vpon his defence: but being ouer-layd by power, conueyes himselfe out of the Castle, leaues his brother and wife within to defend it, and procures ayde of his father in law the Earle of *Gloceſter*, to succour him.

The Earle takes in hand this businesse, sets out of *Gloceſter* with an Army of *Welshmen* and others, attended with *Hugh Bigod*, and *Robert de Morley*, ioynes with the Earle of *Chester*, marches to *Lincolne*, where, in the battaile, King *Stephen* was taken, carried prisoner to *Gloceſter*, presented to the Empresse, and by her sent to bee kept in the Castle of *Bristow*, but in all honourable fashion, till his attempts to escape layd fetters on him.

She labours the Legat for the Crowne of England.

Hereupon the Empresse (as at the top of her fortune) labours the Legat *to bee admitted to the Kingdome, as the daugher of the late King, to whom the Realme had taken an oath to to accept for soueraigne in the succession*; and wrought so, as a Parle was appointed for this purpose, on the Plaine neere to *Winchester*, where in a blustring sad day (like the fate of the businesse) they met: and the Empresse swore, and made affidation to the Legat, *That all the great businesses, and especially the donation of Bishoprickes and Abbeys, should bee at his disposing, if he (with the Church) would receiue her as Queene of* England, *and hold perpetuall fidelitie vnto her*. The same oath and affidation tooke likewise her brother *Robert*, Earle of *Gloceſter*, *Brian* his sonne, Marquisse of *Wallingford*; *Miles* of *Gloceſter* (after Earle of *Hereford*) with many others for her. Nor did the Bishop sticke to accept her as Queene (though she neuer came to bee so) and with some few other, made likewise affidation for his part, that so long as shee infringed not her couenant, hee would also hold his fidelity to her.

The next day, shee was receiued with solemne procession into the Bishops Church at Winchester, the Bishop leading her on the right hand, and *Bernard* Bishop of Saint *Dauids* on the left. There were present many other Bishops, as *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincolne*,

Lincolne, and *Nigel* Bishop of *Ely* (the Nephewes of *Roger*, lately imprisoned) *Robert* Bishop of *Bathe*, and *Robert* Bishop of *Worcester*, with many Abbots.

Within a few dayes after came *Theobald*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to the Empresse, inuited by the Legat; but deferred to doe fealty vnto her, as holding it vnworthy his person and place, without hauing conferd first with the King. And therefore hee, with many Prelats, and some of the Layety (by permission obtained) went to the King to *Bristow*. The Councell brake vp, the Empresse keepes her Easter at Oxford, being her owne towne. Shortly vpon Easter a Councell of the Clergie is againe called to *Winchester*, where the first day the Legat had secret conference with euery Bishop apart, and then with euery Abbot and other, which were called to the Councell. The next day hee makes a publicke speech, *Shewing how the cause (of their Assembly) was to consult for the peace of their country, in great daunger of vtter ruine. Repeates the flourishing raigne of his Vncle, the peace, wealth, and honour of the Kingdome in his time: and how that renowned King, many yeares before his death, had receiued an oath both of* England *and* Normandy, *for the succession of his daughter* Maude *and her Issue. But*, said he, *after his decease, his daughter being then in* Normandy, *making delay to come into* England, *where (for that it seemed long to expect) order was to bee taken for the peace of the Countrey, and my brother was permitted to raigne. And although I interposed my selfe a surety betweene God and him, that hee should honour and exalt the holy Church, keepe and ordaine good Lawes; Yet, how hee hath behaued himselfe in the Kingdome, it grieues mee to remember, and I am ashamed to repeate. And then recounts he all the Kings courses with the Bishops, and all his other misgouernments. And then*, said hee, *euerie man knowes I ought to loue my mortall brother, but much more the cause of my immortall Father: and therefore seeing God hath shewed his iudgement on my brother, and suffered him (without my knowledge) to fall into the hand of Power: that the Kingdome may not miscarie for want of a Ruler, I haue called you all hither by the power of my Legation. Yesterday the cause was mooued in secret, to the greatest part of the Clergie, to whom the right appertaines to elect and ordaine a Prince. And therefore after hauing inuoked (as it is meete, the Diuine aide) Wee elect for Queene of* England *the daughter of the peacefull, glorious, rich, good, and in our time the incomparable King: and to her, wee promise our faith and allegiance.*

The Legats speech to the Clergie, to Crowne the Empresse.

When all, who were present, either modestly gaue their voyce, or by their silence contradicted it, the Legat addes: *The* Londoners, *who are (in respect of the greatnesse of their City) as among the optimacie of* England, *we haue by our messengers summoned, and I trust they will not stay beyond this day, to morrow we will expect them.*

The *Londoners* came, were brought into the Councell, shewed *How they were sent from the Communaltie of* London, *not to bring contention, but prayer, that the King their Lord might be freed from captiuitie, and the same did all the Barons (receiued within their Liberties) earnestly beseech of my Lord Legate, and all the Clergie there present.* The Legat answeres them at large, and loftily, according to his speech the day before, and added, *That the* Londoners, *who were held in that degree in* England, *ought not to take their parts, who had forsaken their Lord in the warre, by whose Counsell the Church had beene dishonoured:, and who fauoured the* Londoners, *but for their owne gaine.*

Then stands there vp a Chaplaine to Queene *Maude*, wife to *Stephen*, and deliuers a letter to the Legat, which he silently read, and then said allowd, *that it was not lawfull in the assembly of so many reuerend and religious persons the same should be publikely read, containing matter reprehensible.* The Chapline not to faile in his message, boldly reades the Letter himselfe, which was to this effect: *That the Queene earnestly intreates all the Clergie there assembled, and namely the Bishop of* Winchester, *the brother of her Lord, to restore him vnto the Kingdome, whom wicked men, which were also his subiects, held prisoner.*

To this the Legat answeres (as to the *Londoners*) and shortly after the Councel brake vp, wherein many of the Kings part were excommunicated: namely *William Martell*, an especiall man about the King, who had much displeased the Legat.

Hereupon a great part of *England* willingly accepted of *Maude*, in whose businesses her brother *Robert* imployes all his diligence and best care, *reforming Iustice, restoring the*

the Lawes of England, *promising releeuements, and whatsoeuer might be to winne the people*; the Legat seconding all his courses.

But now, shee being at the point of obtayning the whole Kingdome; all came sodainly dasht by her ouer-hautie and proud carriage, and by the practise of the *Londoners*, who adhering to the other side, began openly to inueigh against her, who had displeased them, and they had plotted to surprize her in their Citie, whereof she hauing notice, secretly withdrawes herselfe (accompanied with her Vncle *Dauid* King of *Scots* who was come to visit her and her brother *Robert*) vnto *Oxford*, a place of more securitie. The Legar himselfe takes, or makes an occasion to bee slacke in her cause, vpon her denying him a sute for his Nephew *Eustace*, the sonne of *Stephen*, about the inheritance of his Earledome of *Mortaigne* in *Normandie*. Besides the Queene regnant, watchfull ouer all oportunities, found meanes to parle with the Legat, *Sets vpon him with her teares, intreatie, promises, and assurance for the Kings reformation*; in so much as *shee recalled him to the affections of Nature, brought him about againe to absolue such of the Kings part as he had lately excommunicated.*

The Legat leaues the Empresse.

Is intreated with teares by the Queene regnant.

The Earle of *Glocester* seeing this sodaine and strange relaps of their affaires, striues by all meanes to hold vp Opinion, and re-quicken the Legats disposition; which to keepe sound, was all. He brings the Empresse to *Winchester*, setles her, and her guard, in the Castle, where she desires to speake with the Legat, who first delayes, then denies to come. Whereupon they call their best friends about them. Queene *Maude* and the Lords incompasse the Towne, and cut off all victuall from the Empresse, so that in the end, the Earle of *Glocester* wrought meanes to haue her conueyd from thence to the *Vies*, but himselfe was taken and in him most of her.

The Empresse besieged at Oxford, the Earle of Glocester taken prisoner.

This sets the sides both euen againe into the Lists of ther triall: the two prisoners are to redeeme each other: The disproportion of the quality betweene them, shewed yet there was an euennesse of power, and the Earle would not consent to the Kings deliuery (who onely in that was to haue the precedence) but vpon most secure cautions. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Legate, vndertooke to yeeld themselues prisoners for him, if the King released him not, according to his promise: But that would not serue the turne, till they both had written their Briefes to the Pope, to intimate the course that was taken herein, and deliuered the same vnto him, vnder their hands and seales. So that, if the King should, as he might not care, to hold the Bishops in prison: yet the Pope, if hard measure were offred, might releeue them. Which shewes the aduantage of credit in the businesse, lay on this side, and the King was to haue his fetters, though at liberty.

1142. *Anno. Reg.* 7.

The Queene and *Eustace*, her sonne the Prince, vpon the inlargement of *Stephen*, remaine pledges in the Castle of *Bristow* till the Earle were released, which was done vpon the Kings comming to *Winchester*. Where the Earle in familiar conference, was, by all art possible, solicited to forsake the partie of *Maude*, with promise of all preferments of honour and estate: but nothing could moue him being fixt to his courses, and rather would hee haue beene conrent to remaine a perpetuall prisoner, then that *Stephen* should haue beene released, had not his sister wrought him to this conclusion.

The Legat, after this, calls a Councell at *London*, where the Popes letters, written vnto him, are openly read, which argue him (but mildly) of some neglect of his brothers releasing, and exhort him to vse all meanes Ecclesiasticall, and Secular, to set him at liberrie.

Vide Append.

The King himselfe came into the Councell, complaines, *How his subiects, to whom hee had neuer denied Iustice, had taken him, and reproachfully afflicted him euen to death.* The Legate, with great eloquence, labours to excuse his owne courses: alledging, *How hee receiued not the Empresse by his will, but necessitie: that presently vpon the Kings ouerthrow, whilest the Lords were either fled, or stood in suspence attending the euent; shee and her people came thundring to the walles of* Winchester: *and that, what pact soeuer hee had made with her for the right of the Church, shee obstinately brake all: besides, hee was certainely informed, that shee and hers had plotted, both against his dignitie, and life:* But

King *Stephens* complaint.

But God in his mercy, contrarie to her desire, had turned the businesse so, as hee escaped the daunger, and his brother was deliuered out of bands. And therefore hee, from the part of God, and the Pope, willed them, with all their vtmost power, to aide the King, annointed by the consent of the People, and the Sea Apostolique, and to Excommunicate all the disturbers of the peace that fauoured the Countesse of Aniou.

There was in the Councell a Lay Agent for the Empresse, who openly charged the Legat; *That in respect of the faith he had giuen the Empresse, to passe no act there, preiudiciall to her Honour: hauing sworne vnto her neuer to aide his brother with aboue twentie souldiers: that her comming into* England, *was vpon his often Letters vnto her: and his cause it was, that the King was taken and held prisoner.* This, and much more sayd the Agent with great austerity of words, wherewith the Legat seemed not to bee mooued at all, nor would stoope to reply.

Both parts thus set at libertie, were left to worke for themselues, holding the State broken betweene them; and no meanes made to interpose any barre to keepe them asunder. Their borders lay euery where, and then the ingagements of their Partakers, who (looke all to be sauers or to recouer their stakes when they were lost, which makes them neuer giue ouer) entertaine the contention. But the best was, they were rather troubles, then warres, and cost more labour then bloud. Euery one fought with Bucklers, and seldome came to the sharpe in the field, which would soone haue ended the businesse.

Some few moneths after these inlargements, stood both sides at some rest; but not idle, casting how to compasse their ends. The Empresse at the *Vies* with her Councell, resolues to send ouer her brother into *Normandy* to solicit her husband the Earle of *Aniou*, to come to aide her, with forces from thence: Her brother, the better to secure her in his absence, setles her in the Castle of *Oxford*, well furnished for all assaults: and takes with him the sonnes of the especiall men about her, as pledges to hold them to their fidelity. *Stephen* seekes to stop the Earles passage, but could not, and then layes siege to the Castle of *Oxford*; which held him all the time the Earle was abroad. *Geffrey* Earle of *Aniou*, desirous rather to haue *Normandie*, whereof, in this meane time, he had attained the most part, and in possibility of the rest, then to aduenture for *England*, which lay in danger, refused to come in person, but sends some small aide, and his eldest sonne *Henry*, being then but eleuen yeares of age, that he might looke vpon *England*, & be shewed to the people, to try if that would mooue them to a consideration of his right: which proued of more effect then an Army.

The Earle of Glocester gets to Normandie.

The Earle of *Glocester* safely returning, makes towards *Oxford* to releeue the Empresse, who had secretly conueyed her selfe disguised out at a posterne gate, onely with foure persons, got ouer the Thames, passed a foot to *Abington*, and from thence conuayd to *Wallingford*, where her brother and sonne met her, to her more comfort after hard distresses.

The Earles returne with the Empresses eldest sonne *Henry*.

1143. *Anno.* *Reg.* 8.

Stephen seeing his enemy thus supplied, and like to grow, labours to winne friends, but money failes, which made diuers of his Lords, and especially his mercinaries, whereof he had many out of *Flanders*, to fall to the rifling of Abbayes, which was of dangerous consequence: And for Armies there was no meanes; onely about Castles, with small powers, lay all the businesse of these times, and they being so many were to small effect, but onely to hold them doing, which was for many yeares.

The Earle of Glocester dies.

The Earle of *Glocester*, the chiefe pillar of the Empresse, within two yeares after his last comming out of *Normandie* died, and shortly after *Miles* Earle of *Hereford*, an especiall man of hers, which had vtterly quasht her, but that in stead of a brother shee had a sonne grew vp to bee of more estimation with the Nobility, and shortly after of ableness to vndergoe the trauailes of warre. His first expedition at sixteene yeares of age was Northward to combine him with *Dauid* King of *Scots* his great Vncle, to whom his mother had giuen the Country of *Northumberland*. After him followes *Stephen* with an Army to *Yorke*, least hee should surprize that Citie, and to intercept him in his returne: but according to his vsuall manner, and French-like, after the first heate of his vndertakings, which were quicke and braue, hee quailes: nothing

nothing was effected, and both returne without incountring.

Now to aduance the State and meanes of *Henry*, fortune, as if in loue with young Princes, presents this occasion. *Louys* the seuenth, King of France going in person to the Holy warres, and taking with him his wife *Elenor*, the onely daughter and heire of *William* Duke of *Guien*, grew into such an odious conceipt of her, vpon the notice of her lasciuious behauiour in those parts, as the first worke hee doth vpon his comming backe, hee repudiates, and turnes her home with all her great dowrie, rather content to loose the mightie estate she brought him then to marry her person. With this great Lady matches *Henry*, before he was twenty yeares of age (being now Duke of *Normandie*, his father deceased, who had recouered it for him) and had by her the possession of all those large and rich Countries, apertayning to the Dutchy of *Guien*, besides, the Earldome of *Poictou*. Whereupon *Louys* inraged to see him inlarged by this great accession of State, who was so neere, and like to be so dangerous and eminent a neighbour, combines with *Stephen*, and aydes *Eustace* his sonne (whom hee married to his Sister *Constance*) with maine power, for the recouery of *Normandie*, wherein hee was first possest. But this young Prince, furnished now with all this powerfull meanes, leaues the management of the affaires of *England* to his friends, defends *Normandie*, wrought so, as the King of *France* did him little hurt; and *Eustace*, his competitor, returned home into *England*, where shortly after hee died, about 18 yeares of his age, borne neuer to see out of the calamities of warre, and was buried at *Feuersham* with his mother, who deceased a little before, and had no other ioy nor glorie of a Crowne but what we see. *Stephen*, whilst Duke *Henrie* was in *Normandie*, recouers what hee could, and at length besieges *Wallinford*, which seemes in these times to haue beene a peece of great importance, and impregnable, and reduced the Defendants to that extremirie, as they sent to Duke *Henrie* for succour, who presently thereupon, in the middest of Winter, ariues in *England* with 3000 foot, and 140 horse. Where first, to draw the King from *Wallingford*, he layes siege to *Malmesbury*, and had most of all the great men in the West, and from other parts comming in vnto him. *Stephen*, now resolued to put it to the tryall of a day, brings thither all the power hee could make; and far ouer-went his enemy in number: but flouds and stormes, in an vnseasonable Winter, kept the Armies from incountring, till the Bishops, doubtfull of the successe, and seeing how daungerous it was for them, and the whole State, to haue a young Prince get the maistry by his sword, mediated a peace, which was after concluded in a Parliament at *Winchester*, vpon these conditions.

An. 1151.

1 *That King* Srephen, *during his naturall life, should remaine King of* England, *and* Henrie *inioy the Dukedome of* Normandie, *as discended vnto him from his mother, and bee proclaymed heire apparent to the Kingdome of* England, *as the adopted sonne of King* Stephen.

2 *That the partizans of either, should receiue no damage, but inioy their Estates according to their ancient Rights and Titles.*

Resumptions.

3 *That the King should resume into his hands all such parcels of inheritance belonging to the Crowne, as had beene aliened by him, or vsurped in his time. And that all those possessions which by intrusion had beene violently taken from the owners since the dayes of King* Henry, *should bee restored vnto them who were rightly possessed therein, when the said King raigned.*

4 *That all such Castles as had beene built by the permission of* Stephen, *and in his time (which were found to be* 1117*) should be demolished, &c.*

There is a Charter of this agreement in our Annals, which hath other Articles of reseruation for the Estates of particular persons. And first for *William*, the second sonne of *Stephen*, to enioy all the possessions his father held before hee was King of *England*, and many other particulars of especiall note.

Vide Append.

After this pacification, and all businesse here, setled, Duke *Henry* returnes into *Normandy*, and likewise there concludes a peace with the King of *France*, and for that hee would be sure to haue it, buyes it, with twenty thousand markes.

And now King *Stephen* hauing attained (that hee neuer had) Peace (which yet, it seemes

seemes he enioyed not a yeare after) vses all the best meanes he could to repaire the ruines of the State, makes his progresses into most parts of the Kingdome, to reforme the mischiefes that had growne vp vnder the sword: and after his returne cals a Parliament at *London*, to consult of the best meanes for the publicke good. After the Parliament, he goes to meete the Earle of *Flanders* at *Douer*, who desired conference with him, and hauing dispatcht him, fals presently sicke, dies within few dayes after, and was buried (in the Abbey he founded) at *Feuersham*, with the vnfortunate Princes. *An.* 1154. He raigned 18 yeares, and 10 moneths.

A man so continually in motion, as we cannot take his dimension, but onely in passing, and that but on one side, which was warre: on the other, we neuer saw but a glaunce of him, which yet, for the most part, was such, as shewed him to bee a very worthy Prince for the Gouernment. He kept his word with the State concerning the relieuement of Tributes, *and neuer had Subsidy that we find.*

But which is more remarkeable, hauing his sword continually out, and so many defections and rebellions against him, *He neuer put any great man to death.* Besides it is noted, that notwithstanding all these miseries of warre, *There were more Abbeys built in his Raigne, then in an hundreth yeares before*, which shewes, though the times were bad, they were not impious.

The end of the Life, and Raigne, of King Stephen.

The Life, and Raigne, of Henry the second; And first of the Line of Plantagenet.

THAT short time of peace, before the death of *Stephen*, had so allayed the spirit of contention, and prepared the Kingdome (wearied and defaced with warre) to that disposition of quietnesse: as *Henry Plantagenet* (though a *French-man* borne, and at that time, out of the Land: long detained with contrary winds, yet a Prince of so great possessions abroad, as might make him feared, to be too mighty a maister at home; or doubtfull, where hee would set his seate: whither carry *England* thither, or bring those great States to this) was, notwithstanding generally admitted (without any opposition or capitulation, other then the vsuall oath) to the Crowne of *England*: which he receiued at the hands of *Theobald*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the twentieth day of December, *Anno* 1154, about the three and twentieth yeare of his age. 1154. *Anno. Reg.* 1.

And though he whete a Prince *Yong, Actiue, Pawerfull, and had all that might make him high and presuming*: yet the necessity of his owne affaires were so strong raines to hold him in, from all exorbitant courses: as made him wary to obserue at first, all meanes to get, and retaine the loue, and good opinion of this Kingdome, by a regular and easie Gouernment: being sute to haue the King of *France* perpetually awake, for all aduantages (both in regard of daily quarrels, commune to mighty neighbours, as also for matching with her that came out of his bed, and brought away those mighty Prouinces from that Crowne, whereby, he comes now to ouer-match him) being thus inuested in this powerfull Kingdome of *England*. Where, after hauing made a choice of graue Councellors, such as best vnderstood the stare thereof; he began at a Councell or Parliament held at *Wallingford* with an Act (that both serued his owne turne, and much eased the stomakes of his people) *which was the expulsion of Strangers*, wherewith the Land was much pestered, by reason of the late warres that had drawne great numbers of them, and especially of *Flemings*, and *Picards*, whom King *Stephen* especially trusted in his greatest actions, after he grew doubtfull of the *English* fidelity, and had made their Leader *William d'Ipres*, Earle of *Kent*, who likewise was turned home, and his estate seized into the Kings hands. Expulsion of Strangers.

Then, that he might subsist by his owne meanes, without pressure of his subiects (whose voluntary seruices, and contributions, would yeeld him more in measure, then if exacted) *He lookes to the State, and ordering of his reuennes, reformes the Exchequer, and reuokes all such Lands belonging to the Crowne, as had any way bene alienated, or vsurped.* And though some of the great Lords stood out for the holding what they had in possession, as Resumption of Crowne Lands.

as *Hugh de Mortimer* for his Castles of *Clebury*, *Wigmore*, and *Bridgenorth*: and *Roger Fits Miles*, Earle of *Hereford* for the City and Lands of *Glocester*. Yet the King tooke them by force as appertaining to the Crowne. Besides, he resumed the Castle of *Skarborough*, which *William* Earle of *Albemarle* held, and diuers other Lands and Castles in *Yorkeshire*, possessed by priuate men. *Hugh Bigot* resigned his Castles into the Kings hands. And more, he tooke from *William* Earle of *Mortaine*, and *Warren*, base sonne to King *Stephen*, the Castle of *Pemsey*, the City of *Norwitch*: with, other Townes and Castles, notwithstanding himselfe graunted the same, in his agreement with *Stephen*; alledging, *They were of the Demaynes of the Crowne, and could not be aliened.* Onely he suffered him to inioy such lands, as his father, King *Stephen* held in *England*, in the time of *Henry* the first.

Then goes he Northward, and recouers the Citty of *Carlile*, seizes all *Cumberland*, into his hands: and after takes the Towne of *New-castle*, with the Castle of *Bamberge*, and so resumed all *Northumberland*, which his Mother (the Empresse) had before granted to *Dauid* King of *Scots*, her Vnkle (Grand-father to *Malcolin*, who now reigned) as being not in his Mothers power, nor his, to giue away any part of the Kingdome. Notwithstanding, he was content, *Malcolin* should inioy the Earledome of *Huntingdon*, which King *Stephen* had giuen to *Henry*, Prince of *Scotland*, father to *Malcolin*, as being a peece in the heart of *England*, whereof he could make no vse, but at the Kings pleasure, and besides, was a meanes, to hold him his Homager, and to performe those seruices belonging to that Earledome.

And the same course tooke he with the Alienations, and vsurpations formerly made of the Demaines of the Duchy of *Normandy*, and forced *Theobald* Earle of *Blois*, to resigne into his hands, two Castles, and *Petroch* Earle of *Perch*, other two. These *reuocations*, whereby so many were indamaged in their estates, *and Grants, both of his Predecessors, and his owne vtterly nullified*; might seeme, to be an act of great iniustice, and in a new Gouernment, of little safety. But in regard, the Common-wealth had thereby a benefit: and but few (though great) interessed, it passed as a worke vniuersally necessary, seeing his Maintenance otherwise, must be made vp out of publicke taxations; which would turne to a generall grieuance. But *the resuming of the Earledome of* Aniou *out of his brother* Geffryes *hands, contrary to his Oath*, cannot but be held a strayne beyond conscience, and good nature. For his father *Geffrey Plantagenet* desirous to leaue some estate to his second sonne *Geffrey*, ordained by his Testament, *That when* Henry *had recouered the Kingdome of* England, *the other should haue the County of* Aniou: and in the meane time, put *Geffrey* in possession of the Castles, and Townes of *Chinon*, *Lodun*, and *Mirabel*, wheteby he might, both haue maintenance for his estate, and a readier meanes to come to the rest when occasion serued. And *least his sonne* Henry *should not performe this Will, he got certaine Bishops, and other Nobles to sweare, that they would not suffer his body to be interred, till* Henry, *who was then absent, had sworne to fulfill his Testament: Henry*, rather then to suffer his Fathers body to lye vnburied, *With great vnwillingnesse takes this oath.* But afterward being inuested in the Crowne of *England*, and *Geffrey* seazing vpon the Earledome of *Aniou*, he passes ouer into *France*, and not onely takes from him the Earledome, but also those three Townes he had in possession; alledging, *It was no reason, a forced Oath (vpon such an occasion) should bind him to forgoe the inheritance of his Birth-right, being all the Patrimony, that was to discend vnto him from his Father:) and though he had recouered the Kingdome of* England; *that was not his Fathers worke, but by another right. And although he held his brother deere vnto him, yet hauing Children of his owne, he was to prouide, that what was his, should discend to them.* But yet was content, to allowe his brother an honorable pension (of a thousand pounds *English*, and two thousand pounds of *Aniouin* money yearely) for the maintenance of his estate; and obtained of Pope *Adrian* the seuenth (an *English* man borne) a dispensation for his Oath, made in this case.

The King resumes the Earledome of *Aniou*.

1156. *Anno. Reg.* 2.

And now the first occasion, that put him here into action of warre, was the rebellion of the *Welsh*, who, according to their vsuall manner, euer attempted some thing, in the beginning of the Raigne, of new Princes, as if to try their spirits, and their owne fortunes.

fortunes. Against whom hee goes so prepared, as if hee ment to goe through with his worke. Wherein at first, he had much to doe, passing a streight among the Mountaines, where he lost (with many of his men) *Eustace Fitz Iohn*, and *Robert Curcy*, eminent persons: and himselfe noysed to be slaine (so much discouraged, that part of the Army, which had not passed the Streights) as *Henry* an Earle of Essex, threw downe the Kings Standard (which he bare by inheritance) and fled: but soone, the King made it knowne, hee was aliue, discomfited his enemies, and brought them, to seeke their peace with submission. The Earle of Essex was after accused, by *Robert de Monfort* for this misdeed, had the Combat, was ouercome, pardoned yet of life, but condemned to be shorne a Monke, put into the Abbay of *Reading*, and had his Lands seised into the Kings hands.

His first expedition into Wales.

The punishment of Corwardize.

It was now the fourth yeare of the raigne of this King; when, *all his affaires were in prosperous course, his State increasing, his Queene fruitefull, and had borne him three sonnes in England, Henry, Richard,* and *Geffrey*: his eldst sonne *William* (to whom hee had caused the Kingdom, to take an Oath of fealty) died shortly after his comming to the Crowne, so that now, the same Oath is tendred to *Henry*, and all is secure and well on this side.

1158. *Anno. Reg.* 4.

The King of *France*, who would gladly haue impeached the mighty current of this Kings fortune, was held in, and fettered with his owne necessities: his iourney to the Holy Land, had all exhausted his Treasure, and since his comming home, the Pope had exacted great summes of him for dispensing with his second marriage, which was with *Constantia* daughter to *Alphonso*, King of *Galicia*, a feeble alliance, and farre off, so that all concurred to increase the greatnesse of this King of England; who hauing now almost surrounded France (by possessing first all *Normandie*, with a great footing in *Brittaine*, by the resignation of *Nants*, with the Country there about, which *Conan* the Duke was forced lately to make vnto him; then the Earledome of *Maine*, *Poictou*, *Touraine*, *Aniou* with the Dutchy of *Guien*) he also laies claime to the rich Earledome of *Tholouse* vpon this Title:

The resignation of Nants to the King of England.

King *Henries* claime to the Earldome of Tholouse.

William *Duke of* Aquitaine, *granfather to Queene* Elioner, *married the daughter and heire of the Earle of* Tholouse, *and going to the holy warres, ingaged that Earldome to* Raymond *Earle of Saint* Gyles, *and neuer returned to redeeme it.* William *his sonne, father to Queene* Elionor, *either through want of meanes, or neglect, delayed likewise the redemption thereof: so that the Earle of* Saint Gyles *continuing in possession whilst hee liued, left it to his sonne* Raymond, *of whom King* Louys *of France (hauing married* Elionor, *the daughter and heire of the last* William) *demanded the restitution, with tender of the summe for which it was ingaged. Raymond* refuses it; and stands to his possession, as of *a thing absolutely sold or forfeited, but being too weake to contend with a King of* France, *fell to an accord, and married his sister* Constans, *widdow of* Eustace *sonne to King* Stephen, *and so continues the possession.* Now King *Henry* hauing married this *Elionor*, and with her was to haue all the Rights shee had, tenders likewise (as the King of France had done, in the same case) *the summe formerly disbursed, vpon the morgage of that Earledome.* And with all makes ready his sword to recouer it, and first combines in league and amity, with such, whose Territories bordred vpon it: as with *Raymond* Earle of *Barcelona*, who had married the daughter and heire of the King of *Arragon*, a man of great Estate in those parts, intertayning him with conference of a match betweene his second sonne *Richard*, and his daughter: with couenant, *that* Richard *should haue the inheritance of the Dutchy of* Aquitaine, *and the Earledome of* Poictou. Besides, hee takes into his protection, *William* Lord of *Trancheuille* (possessing likewise) many great Signories in the Countrey: and one who held himselfe much wronged in his Estate, by the Earle of *Tholouse*.

These aydes prepared, he leauies an Army, and goes in person to besiege the Citie of *Tholouse*, and takes along with him *Malcolin*, King of *Scots*, who (comming to his Court to doe him homage, for the Earledome of *Huntingdon*, and to make claime for those other peeces, taken from his Crowne) was entertayned, with so many faire words and promises of King *Henry*, as drew him along to this warre.

1159. *Anno. Reg.* 5.

The

The Earle of *Tholouse* vnderstanding the intentions of the King of *England*, craues ayde of his brother in Law the King of *France*, who likewise with a strong Army, comes downe in person to succour *Tholouse*, and was there before the King of *England* could arriue with his forces, whereupon, seeing himselfe preuented, and in disaduantage, King *Henry* fell to spoyling the Countrey, and takes in *Cahors* in *Quercy*, where he places a strong Garrison to bridle the *Tholousains*, and so returnes into *Normandy*, gaue the order of Knight-hood to King *Malcolin* at *Tours*: augments his forces, and enters the Countrey of *Beauuoisin*, where he destroyes many Castles; and commits great spoyles. And to adde more anoyance to the King of *France*, he obtained of the Earle *de Auranches*, the two strong Castles *Rochfort*, and *Monfort*, which furnished with Garrisons, impeached the passage twixt *Orleance* and *Paris*: in so much as the warre, and weather grew hote betwixt these two great Princes, and much effusion of bloud was like to follow; but that a mediation of peace was made, and in the end concluded, *With a match betweene the young Prince* Henry, *not seuen yeares of age, and the Lady* Margaret *eldest daughter to the King of* France *scarce three: weake linkes, to hold in so mighty Princes. The yong Lady was deliuered rather as an Ostage then a Bride, to* Robert de Newburge, *to be kept till her yeares would permit her to liue with her Husband.* In the meane time, notwithstanding, many ruptures hapned betweene the Parents: *The first whereof grew vpon the King of* Englands *getting into his owne hand the Castle of* Gisors, *with two other Castles vpon the Riuer* Eata, *in the confines of* Normandy: deliuered vp before the due time *By three Knights Templars, to whom they were committed in trust, till the marriage were consummated.* And this cost some bloud: the Knights Templars are persecuted by the King of *France*, and the King of *England* receiues them.

1160. *Anno.* *Reg.6.*

Prince *Henry* contracted to *Margaret* daughter to the King of *France*.

But now the aduantage of power lying all on this side, and the King seeing himselfe at large (and how much he was abroad) beganne to be more at home, and to looke to the Prerogatiues of his Crowne, which as he was informed, grew much infringed by the Clergy: which, since the time of *Henry* the first, *Were thought to haue inlarged their iurisdiction beyond their vocation*: and himselfe had found their power, in the election of King *Stephen*, with whom they made their owne conditions, with all aduantages for themselues, whereby they deprived his Mother and her issue, of their succession to the Crowne. And though afterwards by their mediation, the peace twixt him, and *Stephen* was concluded, and his succession ratified: yet for that, might he thanke his Sword, the Iustice of his cause, and strong party in the Kingdome. What they did therein shewed him rather their power, then their affection: and rather put him in mind of what they had done against him at first, then layed any obligation on him, for what they did afterward. And his owne example, seeing them apt to surprise, all aduantages for their owne aduancement, made him doubt how they might deale with his Posterity, if they found occasion: and therefore is he easily drawne to abate their power in what he could.

The King seekes to abate the power of the Clergy & the cause thereof.

To this motion of the Kings dislike, the Lay Nobility (emulous of the others authority) layed more waights: alledging *how the immunities of the Clergie tooke vp so much from the Royalty, as his execution of Iustice, could haue no generall passage in the Kingdome: the Church held their Dominion apart, and free from any other authority then their owne: and being exempt from Secular punishments, many enormious acts were committed by Clergie-men, without any redresse to be had*: and it was notified to the King, that since the beginning of his Raigne, *There had beene aboue a hundreth Man-slaughters committed within the Realme of* England *by Priests, and men within Orders.*

Complaints against the Clergie.

Now had the King, a little before (vpon the death of *Theobald* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*) preferred *Thomas Becket*, a creature and seruant of his owne, to that Sea. A man whom first, from being Arch-deacon of *Canterbury*, he made his Chancelor, and finding *him Diligent, Trusty, and Wise*, imployes him in all his greatest businesses of the State: by which tryall of his seruice and fidelity, he might expect to haue him euer the readier to aduance his affaires, vpon all occasions. And besides, to shew how much he respected his worth, and integrity, he commits vnto him *the education of the Prince, a charge of the greatest consequence in a Kingdome*, which shall be euer sure to find their Kings

1161. *Anno.* *Reg.7.*

Thomas Becket preferred to the Sea of *Canterbury*.

Kings as they are bred. At the beginning of this mans promotion, this reformation of Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction is set vpon, *a worke (in regard of that time of deuotion) of great difficultie:* the Bishops, hauing from the beginning of Christianitie, first vnder the *Saxon* Kings, principally swaded the State: and though at the entrance of the *Norman*, they were much abriged of their former liberties, *they held themselues if not content, yet quiet.* For albeit they had not that power in temporall businesses as before; yet, *within their owne circle, they held their owne iurisdiction, and immunities: and had since, both by the Law, ciuill warres, and the occasion of forraine affaires, much inlarged them.* So that, any restriction, or diminution, of the powre they had, could not but touch vaines, that were very sensible in that part: especially, *by reason of the vniuersall participation of the Spirit that fed them:* and therefore could not bee but a businesse of much trouble.

A Parliament at Westminster. 1163. *Anno. Reg.* 9.

The King conuokes a Councell at Westminster, and there first propounds to haue it enacted, *That all such of the Clergie as should bee taken and conuicted for any heinous offence should loose the priuiledge of the Church, and bee deliuered to the ciuill Magestrate, to be punished for their offences, as other the Kings subiects were.* For, if after Spirituall punishment, no secular correction should bee vsed; there would bee no sufficient meanes to restraine them from doing mischiefe; seeing it was not likely, such men would much care for their degrading and losse of Order, whom the Conscience of their calling did not hold in awe.

The Archbishop and his suffragans, with the rest of the Bishops, shewed the King *how they were not to yeeld to any such Act, being against the liberties of the Church, which himselfe had sworne to defend, and maintaine: and therefore humbly besought him, that hee would not vrge auy thing to the preiudice of their iurisdiction, and such immunities as they had hitherto enioyed, both vnder him and his Noble Progenitors.*

The King, not liking this aunswere, demaunds, *Whether they would submit themselues to the Lawes and Customes, which the Archbishops and Bishops, in the time of his grandfather* Henry *the first did obserue?* They answered, *they would; their Order, the honour of God, and holy Church, in all things saued,* with which reseruation the King grew more displeased, the Parliament brake vp, and nothing effected at that time, for hee saw the Bishops fast to themselues, and the more by the animation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom hee thought (in regard of all those his graces bestowed on him) to haue found more yeelding to his courses, and therefore his indignation was most against him: and because hee would make him see what the displeasure of so mightie a King was, who could as well cast downe as aduance: *First denies him accesse: then takes from him, what hee could possibly, countenances all such as were his opposites, his businesses in any the Kings Courts goe against him, the Earle of* Clare *is supported in a contestation hee had with him, about his homage for the Castle of* Tunbridge, *and preuailes:* nothing is left vndone, that might bee thought to humble him. And besides the King wrought so, *As hee vnties the knot, gaines first the Archbishop of* Yorke (*the ancient Competitor with Canterbury in dignity*) *and after, the Bishops of* Lincolne, Hereford, *and the especiall Prelates: and seperates them both from the counsell, and company of the Archbishop* Becket.

Notice of this iarre being giuen abroad, a Messenger is sent from the Pope, and all the Cardinalls to reconcile it, and *to charge the Archbishop to make peace with his Lord the King, and promise to obserue his Lawes without exception.* The Archbishop pressed with this message, and the aduice of many great men, repaires to the King at Woodstooke, and there *promises in good faith,* without any euell meaning, *to obserue the Kings Lawes so farre foorth as was required.*

A Parliament at Clarendon. 1164. *Anno. Reg.* 10.

The King supposing now, things better prepared for his purpose then before, calls a generall Assembly of the Bishops and Nobilitie at *Clarendon*, where *Iohn* of Oxford, the Kings Clerke was President of the Councell: and a charge is giuen from the King, *That they should call to memorie the Lawes of his Grand-father* Henrie *the first, and to reduce them into writing:* which beeing done, hee willed the Arch-bishoppe and Bishops, to set their Seales thereunto. Which when the

the rest were content to do, *The Arch-bishop* Becket *refused*. Yet at length, by the perswasion of the Bishops (vrging him to satisfie the Kings pleasure, and appease his wrath, in regard of his present danger, which, by the rushing vp and downe of the Kings seruants with threatning countenances, they suspected themselues likely to fall into) *He tooke his Oath to obserue the Kings Lawes without any reseruation.* And for the writing desired to haue a copy, as if better to aduise thereof. And taking it into his hand, he turnes to the Clergie, and sayd: *Brethren stand fast, you see the malice of the King, and of whom we are to beware.*

The Arch-bishop *Becket*, takes his oath to obserue the Kings lawes.

So the Councell ended, but not the Kings displeasure against the Arch-bishop, whom onely he found, durst beare vp against his power, the rest all yeelding thereunto. And therefore proceedes he, *by all meanes to vexe and disgrace him, and to aduance his Concurrent the Arch-bishop of* Yorke, *whom he solicites the Pope (by his Agents* Iohn *of* Oxford, *and* Geffery Riddle*) to make his Legat of all* England. Which the Pope (forewarned acquainted with this busines) refused to do: yet at the petition of those Agents granted *that Legation to the King himselfe, but so as he should do nothing to grieue the Arch-bishop*, which the King tooke as a great indignity, and sent backe his Agents with the Popes Graunt.

The king vseth all meanes to vex the Arch-bishop.

The Arch-bishop *Becket* after his oath at *Clarendon*, so repented, as *he suspended himselfe, from the seruice of the Altar, and did sharpe penance till he had obtained absolution from the Pope*, Which (vpon his information of the case) was sent him. After this, as some write, he attempts to depart out of the Kingdome, contrary to *a law made at* Clarendon *(forbidding Arch-bishops, Bishops, and other Persons to depart out of the Realme without the Kings leaue. Which, although they obtained, yet were notwithstanding to secure the King, neither in their going, returning, or staying there, to practise any thing preiudicious to his State or Person)* But being by contrary winds brought backe, he more exasperates the King against him.

The Arch-bishop repents him of his oath.

After this, he is summoned to an Assembly at *Northampton* (holden about the ratification of the Acts of *Clarendon*) where (to dispight him the more) the Kings horses are placed in his Inne; And there, *First had he a Case adiudged against him, concerning a Mannor, for which, one* Iohn *the Kings Marshall contended with him in Law, and besides the losse of the Mannor, was cast in arrerages fine hundreth Markes*, which the King was sayd to haue lent him, but he alledged how it was giuen: yet because he confessed the receit, and could not prooue the gift, he was condemned to pay it. *Then was he called to render an accompt to the King of all such receipts as in the time of his Chancellership he had receiued for the King, of certaine Bishopricks and Abbeys during their vacancies, which amounted to the summe of three thousand Markes.* For these accounts, he alledged, *How the King knew well, he was discharged before his election to the Sea of* Canterbury, *and how the Prince, the Barons of the Exchequer, and* Robert de Lucie, *Chiefe Iustice of* England, *had made him his acquittance for all accounts, and Secular receipts, in the behalfe of the King: and so (free and cleered) was he chosen to the administration of that Office, and therefore would pleade the same no more.*

A Parliament at *Northampton*.

The Arch-bishop called to account.

The King, notwithstanding, vrging to haue iudgement passe against him, both for this, his late attempts, and disobedience, he was commanded the next day to attend his Censure. The morning before he was to appeare, he celebrates early with great deuotion, the Masse of Saint *Stephen Protomartir*, which hath these words: *Etenim sedebunt Principes, & aduersum me loquebantur*: and so committing his cause to God, *sets forward to the Court in his Stole, his blacke Canonicall hood, carrying the Crosse in his right hand, and guiding his horse with the left.* The people seeing him come in this fashion, flocke all about him, he entring the great Chamber, sate downe amongst them, the King being within, in his Priuie Chamber with his Councell: from whom, first came forth the Bishop of *London*, and much blames him for comming so armed to the Court, and offered to pull the Crosse out of his hand, but the Arch-bishop held it so fast that he could not. Which the Bishop of *Winchester* seeing, sayd to *London*, *Brother let him alone, he ought well to beare the Crosse*, *London* replies, *You speake brother against the King, and it will be ill for you.* After this, comes forth the Arch-bishop of *Yorke* (the heate of whose antient hatred, saith *Houeden*, would not suffer him to speake in peace, and rebukes him very sharply, for

Roger Houeden.

for comming in that fashion, as if to a Tyrant, or heathen Prince; and told him, *that the King had a sword sharper then his Crosse, and if hee would bee aduised by him hee should take it from him.* Canterbury replies, *the Kings sword wounds carnally; but mine strikes Spiritually, and sends the soule to Hell.*

After much debate, the Archbishoppe *Becket* inuayes against this violent proceeding against him: *How no age euer heard before, that an Archbishop of* Canterbury *had beene adiudged in any of the Kings Courts for anie cause whatsoeuer, in regard both of his Dignity and place: and for that hee is the Spirituall Father of the King, and all other his subiects.* Then to the Bishops, *you see the world rageth against mee, the enemy riseth vp, but I more lament, the Sonnes of my Mother fight against mee. If I should conceale it, the age to come will declare, how you leaue mee alone in the battaile, and haue iudged against mee, being your Father, though neuer so much a sinner. But I charge you by vertue of your obedience, and perill of your Order, that you bee not present in anie place of iudgement, where my person or cause comes to bee adiudged. And here I appeale to the Pope*, charging you farther by vertue of your obedience, *that if anie Temporall man laie handes on mee, you exercise the Sentence of the Church; as it becomes you for your Father the Archbishop, who will not shrinke howsoeuer, nor leaue the flock committed vnto him.*

Complaints against the Archbishop.

Then were all these great complaints of his contempt, Disobedience, and Periury, exhibited, and aggrauated against him before the Assembly, and they cried generally hee was a Traytor, that hauing receiued so many benefits at the Kings hands, would refuse to doe him all earthly honour, and obserue his Lawes as hee had swoorne to doe. The Bishops likewise, seeing all thus bent against him, *renounced their Ecclesiasticall obedience vnto him, cited him to* Rome, *and condemnes him as a periured man and a Traytor.*

Then the Earle of Leceſter accompayned with *Reginald* Earle of Cornwall came to the Archbishop, and charged him from the King to answere to what was obiected vnto him, or else to heare his iudgement. *Nay, sonne Earle,* sayd he, first heare you: *It is not vnknowne to your selfe, how faithfully I haue serued the King, and how in regard thereof hee preferred mee to the place I haue (God is my witnesse) against my will. For I knew mine owne infermities, and was content to take it vpon mee, rather for his pleasure, then Gods cause; therefore now doth God withdraw himselfe, and the King from mee. At the time of my Election hee made mee free from all Court bondage, and therefore touching those things from which I am deliuered, I am not bound to aunswere, nor will I. How much the soule is worthier then the bodie, so much are you bound to obay God and mee rather then any Earthly Creature: neither will Law or Reason permit the Sonnes to condemne the Father; and I refuse to stand either to the Iudgement of the King or anie other person; appealing to the presence of the Pope by whom onely on Earth I ought to bee adiudged, committing all I haue to Gods protection and his: and vnder that authority I depart out of this place.* And so went hee out and tooke his Horse, not without some difficultie in passing, and many reproches of the Kings seruants.

The Archbishop disguised fled out of the Kingdome.

Being gotten out of the Court, a great multitude of the common people (reioycing to see him deliuered) and diuers of the Clergie conuayed him honourably to the Abbay of Saint *Andrewes*, whence disguised (by the name of *Dereman*) hee escaped ouer into Flanders, and so into France.

This businesse of the Church, I haue the more particularly deliuered (according to the generall report of the Writers of that time) in regard it laie so chayned to the Temporall affaires of the State, and bewrayed so much of the face of that Age, with the constitution both of the Soueraignty, and the rest of the bodie as it could not well bee omitted. Besides, the effects it wrought in the succeeding raigne of this Prince, the vexation, charge, and burthen it layed vpon him for manie yeares, is worthie of note, and shewes vs what spirit had predomination in that season of the World, and what Engines were vsed in this Oppugnation.

Presently vpon the departure of this Great Prelate, the King sends ouer to the

the King of France, *Gillebert* Bishop of London, and *William* Earle of *Arundell*, to intreat him, *not onely to forbid the Archbishop his Kingdome, but to bee a meanes to the Pope, that his cause might not bee fauoured by the Church, being so contumacious a rebell as he was against his Soueraigne Lord.*

The King sends Ambassadors to the Pope.

The King of France notwithstanding this intreaty sends Frier *Francis* his Amoyner vnder hand to the Pope, to beseech him, as he tendred the honour of holy Church, and the ayde of the Kingdome of France, *to support the cause of* Thomas *of* Canterbury, *against the Tyrant of England.*

King *Henry* sends likewise with all speed, *Roger* Archbishop of *Yorke*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, *London*, *Chichester* and *Exceester*, *Guido Rufus*, *Richard Iuechester*, and *Iohn* of *Oxford* Clerkes: *William* Earle of *Arundell*, *Hugh de Gundeuile*, *Bernard de Saint Walleric*, and *Henry Fitz Gerrard* to informe the Pope of the whole cause, and preuent the Archbishoppes complaint. The multitude, and greatnesse of the Commissioners shewed the importance of the Ambassage, and the Kings earnest desire to haue his cause preuaile. They finde the Pope at the Citie of Sens, to whom, *they shewed how peruers and disobedient the Archbishoppe had behaued himselfe to his Soueraigne Lord the King of* England: *how hee alone refused to obay his Lawes and Customes, which hee had sworne to doe: and that by his peeuish waywardnesse, the Church and Kingdome were like to bee disturbed, which otherwise would agree in the reformation thereof, as was fit and necessary: and therefore they besought him, as hee tendred the peace of the Church of* England, *and the loue of the King their Soueraigne, not to giue credit or grace, to a man of so turbulent, and dangerous a spirit.*

This Information (notwithstanding earnestly vrged) they found mooued not any disposition in the Pope to fauour the Kings cause, so that in the end, *They besought him to send two Legats ouer into* England, *to examine the particulars of this businesse, and how it had beene carried: and in the meane time, to admit no other information of the cause, but referre it to their relation.* The Pope refuses to send any Legat; the commissioners depart without any satisfaction. And within foure dayes after, comes the Archbishop and prostrates himselfe at the Popes feete: deliuers him a coppie of those Lawes, which the King called his *Grandfathers Lawes*, which being openly read in the presence of all the Cardinals, Clergie, and many other people, *the Pope condemned them for euer, and accursed those who obeyed or any way fauoured them.*

Those Lawes among the Statutes of *Clarendon*, which the Archbishop so much oppugned (and most offended the Clergie) were (as by his owne letter to the Bishop of London appeates) these especially: *That there should bee no appeale to the Apostolike Sea without the Kings leaue. That no Archbishoppe or Bishoppe should goe out of the Realme but by the Kings permission. That no Bishoppe excommunicate any, who held of the King, in Capite; or interdict any officiall of his without the Kings leaue, &c. That Clergie men should bee drawne to secular iudgements. That Lay men (as the King and other should handle causes of the Church, Tythes, and such like.* And these were daungerous incrochments vpon their liberties.

But now the King, seeing his Ambassage to take no effect, and withall, in a manner contemned, presently makes his heauie displeasure, and the scorne hee tooke knowe by his seuere Edicts, both against the Pope, and the Archbishoppe, that they might see what edge his secular powre had in this case: ordayning, *That if anie were found carrying Letter, or Mandat from the Pope, or Archbishoppe, containing any interdiction of Christianity in* England, *should bee taken, and without delay executed as a Traytor, both to the King and Kingdome. That whatsoeuer Bishop, Priest, Monke, or Conuerser in anie Order, Clerke, or Layman should haue and retaine any such letters; should forfeit all their possessions, goods, and chattells to the King, and bee presently banished the Realme with their kinne. That no Clergie men, Monke or other should bee permitted to passe ouer Sea, or returne out of* Normandie *into* England, *without letters from the Iustices here, or from the King being there: vpon paine to bee taken as a Malefactor, and put in hold. That none should appeale to the Pope. That all Clerkes which had any reuenue in England should returne into the Realme within three monethes, vpon paine of forfeiting their estates to the King. That*

1166. *Anno.* *Reg.* 12.

The Kings Edicts against the Pope and his agents.

That Peter Pence *should bee collected, and sequestred till the Kings pleasure were farther knowne.*

Besides, this hee banishes all that were found to bee any way of kinne to the Archbishop, without exception of condition, sex, or yeres. And withall, takes occasion vpon the *Scisme* which was then in the Church to renounce Pope *Alexander*, and incline to the Emperors faction, which stood thus.

After the death of *Adrian* the fourth, *Rouland* a *Geneuese*, and a great enemy of the Empire is by two and twenty Cardinalls elected Pope by the name of *Alexander* the third, to which election foure Cardinals opposed, and made choyce of *Octauian* a Citizen of *Rome* that would be called *Victor* the first. The Emperor *Frederic Barbarossa* summons these two Popes to a Concel at *Pauia*, to vnderstand & determin their right. *Alexander* makes the old answere, *that the Pope could not be iudged by any man liuing*, refuses to appeare before the Emperour, and withdrawes into Anagnia. *Victor* consents to appeare there, or wheresoeuer the Emperour would appoint, so that, he was the man for that side. But all the other Princes of Christendom (except those of the Emperours faction) acknowledge *Alexander* for Pope, as elected by most voyces. And especially by the King of France who called him thither: and at Cocy vpon Loyr, he and the King of England receiued him with all honour and reuerence, in so much, as they are sayd to haue attended vpon his Stirrop, the one, on the right hand, the other on the left: after this, he calls a Councell at Tours, whether the Kings of England, Spaine and Hungarie send their Ambassadors, and there, are the constitutions of the Councell of Pauia, and the Emperours confirmation of *Victor* nullified, so that *Alexander* hauing his party dayly increasing in Italy was shortly after receiued into Rome. The Election of two Popes.

Notwithstanding all this, the King of England finding him so auers in this businesse, *Falls off from him, renounces his Authority, turnes to the Emperours faction, seekes to strength himselfe with the Princes of* Germanie, *consents to match his daughter* Maude *to the Duke of* Saxony, *at the motion of* Reginald *Archbishop of* Collen, *sent ouer by the Emperour for that purpose, and intertaines a motion for another daughter to bee matched with the Emperours sonne.*

But now, by reason this contrary faction to Pope *Alexander* grew to bee but feeble, all this working did the King no good, but exasperates the Pope, and sets him on the more to support the cause of the Archbishop, *Who, sollicites the Clergie of* England *threatnes, intreats, adiures them not to forsake their hold, nor giue way to the inuador of their liberties, which sought to confound the Priesthood and the Kingdome: and if they opposed not mainely at the first but suffered the least breach to bee made vpon them, they were vndone.* Then excommunicates hee all the especiall Ministers of the King that adhered to the *Teutonicque* faction, or held intelligence with the Archbishop of Collen: As *Iohn* of *Oxford*, *Richard Iuechester*, *Richard de Lucie*, *Ioslin Balliol*, *Alan de Neuile*, and with these all such as had entred vpon the goods of the Church of *Canterbury*, which hee called the *patrimony of the Crusifex*, *and the foode of the poore*: and these were *Ralph de Brocke*, *Hugh Saint Clare*, and *Thomas Fitz Barnard*. Thus are both sides busied in this drie warre, wherein, though there were no sword, yet it gaue vexation ynough. Pope *Alexanders* letter to the Clergie of England.

And yet this was not all the worke that tooke vp the Kings time for during this dissention, the Welsh againe reuolt, and to supresse them he spent much labour, with the losse of many great men, and was himselfe in that daunger, as had not *Hubert Saint Clere* receiued a wounde for him, by an Arrow aymed directly at his person, hee had there finished his part. In this expedition hee is sayd, to haue vsed extreame cruelte. The King represses the Welch.

After this, hee passes into Normandie to bee neere his businesse, which now lay all on that side. And first to entertaine the opinion of Pictie (though hee were falne out with the Pope) hee obtaines at an Assembly of his Bishops and Barons of Normandie, *two pence in the pound, of euery mans Lands and goods to bee payde that yeare 1166. and a penny of euery pound to be payde for foure yeares following*, which was leuied for the reliefe of the Christians in the Holy warre, and sent vnto them. 1166. *Anno. Reg.* 13.

Then hee raises forces and takes in certaine Castles in the Countrey of *Maine*, and Marches of *Brittaine*, from diuers Lords and Barons that had disobayed him. And whilst he was busie abroade, *Mathew* sonne to the Earle of Flanders (who had married the Lady *Marie Abbesse* of *Ramsey*, daughter to King *Stephen*; & had by her the Country of *Bologne*) attempted something on the Coast of England, either to try the affections of the people, or to make spoyle and booty, but without any effect at all, the King being to mighty for any such weake vndertaker.

And to distend his powre yet wider, falls out this occasion: *Conan* Earle of Britaine dies, and leaues one onely daughter (which hee had by his wife *Constance* daughter to the King of *Scots*) to succeed him in his State. The King of *England* being then in armes vpon the Marches of *Brittaine*, deales with the Guardians of the young Ladie to match her to his third sonne *Geffry*. The nobility of that Country being then of a rough, and haughty disposition (giuen to fewds, and perpetuall quarrelling one with another) were wrought vpon, and a side is wonne of such as could doe most in this businesse: which is effected to the great contentation of the King of England.

This fell out to be in the 13 yeare of his raigne, wherein, as some write, died his Mother *Maud* the Empresse, a Lady of an high and actiue Spirit: illustrious by her birth, but more by her first match, and most by her sonne, whom she liued to see established in all these mighty States, in the glory of Greatnesse & Peace: Fertile in issue, hauing now had 4 sonnes and 3 daughters, linkes of loue and strength (oftentimes in priuate families) though seldome in Princes, and shee left him in the best time of his daies before any great tempest ouertooke him.

The death of *Maude* the Empresse.

Three yeares after this, hee imployes most in France, about the ordering and cleeting the bounds of his Dominions from vsurpation, or incrochments of neighbour Lords (whom his greatnesse held all in awe) and they must haue no more then hee would: especially hee settles and reformes the State of *Brittaine*, which was much out of order, and in mutiny about the late Match: which being appeased, hee keepes a solemne Christmas at *Nants*, and Royally feasts the Nobilitie of the Countrey.

1169. *Anno.* *Reg.* 16.

Then returnes he into England, where, least Peace (by reason of his long and often absence) might afflict and corrupt his subiects, he lookes to that Diuine, and Almighty worke of Kings, the administration of Iustice, appoynting certaine commissioners as Syndicqs to examine the abuses and excesses committed by his Officers, and grieuously punishes the Shrieses of the Land, for extortion and bribery.

Extortion and Bribery punished.

His Easter, he keepes at *Windsor* whither, repaires vnto him *William* King of Scots who lately succeeded *Malcom* his brother, and brings with him his younger brother *Dauid*, both to congratulate the King of *Englands* returne, and also continue his claime to those peeces in the North which hee pretended to bee vniustly detained from that Crowne. The King entertaines him, as hee had done his brother with faire words, and tells him, *How it was not in his powre, to doe any thing therein, without the consent of the State in Parliament; which if hee would attend, there should bee that course taken, as hee hoped might giue him satisfaction.* In expectation whereof this King came often into England, and once attended the King in an expedition into France, as his Predecessor had done.

But now all this while, the wrath of the Church continues, and the clowde hangs still ouer him, dayly threatning the great thunder-bolt. Although it seemes the Pope of himselfe, was not verie forward to proceede to that extremity but would gladly haue quieted the Archbishoppe otherwise; *Who* (hee sayd) *had taken an ill time for this businesse, the King being mighty, and the Church in trouble:* and therefore writes he his letters to the Bishop of *London*, and *Hereford*, *willing them to deale effectually with the King, and to admonish him to desist from intruding vpon the liberties of the Church, and to restore the Archbishop to his Sea and Dignity.*

The Pope writes to the Bishops of England.

The Bishops wisely answere the Popes Letter, in substance thus: *Wee haue* (sayd they) *done your* Holinesse *message, and as much as was decent for the Maiestie of a King, instantly vrged him to satisfie your desire, made by vs: and if hee had erred*

The Bishops answere to the Popes Letter.

erred from the way of truth and Iustice, that hee would not delay to returne thereunto: that hee would not inhibit such as were desirous to visit the Church of Rome, hinder Appeales, oppresse Churches and Churchmen, or suffer others so to doe: that hee would call home our Father the Archbishoppe, &c. and persist in the workes of Pietie; that hee by whom Kings raigne might preserue vnto him his temporall Kingdome, and giue him an eternall in Heauen: and that vnlesse hee would yeelde to your Holy admonitions, you, who had hitherto indured, could in patience forbeare no longer. Besides we added this of our selues, *how it was to bee feared, if hee amended not his errours, his Kingdome would not long stand, nor his prosper.*

The King receiued your admonitions with manie thankes, much Temperance and Modestie, and answeres to euerie point. First hee protested that in no sort hee auerted his minde from your Holinesse, *nor euer purposed so to doe, but so long as you shewed him fatherly Grace, hee would loue you as a Father; reuerence, and cherish the Church as his Mother. And humbly obay your sacred Decrees, sauing his owne Dignity, and that of his Kingdome: and if of late hee hath not respected you with any reuerence, the cause was that, hauing with all his affection, and all his powre stood to you in your necessitie, hee was not answered worthily to his deserts vpon his recourse to you by his Ambassadours, but in euery petition had the repulse. And for hindring any which are willing to visit your* Holinesse *hee answeres hee will not, nor hath hitherto done.*

But *for Appeales,* by the ancient custome of the Kingdome, *Hee chalenges that honour, and cumber to himselfe: that no Clergie man for any ciuill cause shall goe out of the Land, till hee hath tried, whether hee may obtaine his right by his Royall Authority, and Iustice at home; which if hee cannot, hee may (without any hinderance) when hee will make his Appeale. Wherein, if any way hee doth preiudice* Your Honour *hee offers, by the helpe of God to correct it, as it shall bee ordred by the Councell of the whole Church of his Kingdome. And for the Emperour, though hee knew him a Scismatique, hee neuer vnderstood hee was excommunicate. But if hee bee by vs informed thereof, or hath entred vnlawfull league with him, or any other, hee promises likewise to redresse the same, by the sayd Ecclesiasticall Councell of his Kingdome. And for our Father, the Lord of* Canterbury (hee sayth) *that hee neuer expelled him out of his Kingdome, but as hee went out of his owne accord, so that, at his pleasure it was free for him to returne to his Church in peace: prouided, that his Maiestie might bee satisfied concerning those complaints of his, and haue him to obserue his Royall Dignity. And if it can bee proued, that any Church, or Churchman, hath beeno oppreſt by the King or any of his, hee is ready to make full satisfaction, as shall bee thought fit by the whole Councell of the Church of his Kingdome.*

This (say they) *wee haue receiued in answere from our Lord the King, and wish wee could haue had it fully according to your desire: but these things wee thought good to notifie to your* Highnesse, *that your* Discretion *may perceiue what is like to bee the conclusion of this businesse. The King stands vpon the iustification of his owne cause, ready to obey the Councell and iudgement of the Church of* England. *Whereupon wee thought good to beseech your Highnesse, that you would moderate, for a time, that zeale (which by the fire of the deuine Spirit, is worthily inkindled, to reuenge any iniury done to the Church of God) and forbeare to pronounce any sentence of interdiction, or that last iudgement of abscision, whereby inumerable Churches may bee miserably subuerted, and both the King and an infinite number of people with him, irreuocably (which God forbid) auerted from your obedience.*

Then they tell him, *That better it were to haue a member bad, then cut off: abscision brought desperation: a skilfull Chirurgion might recouer an infected part, and how it were fitter to imploy meanes to heale the wound, then by cutting off a most noble part of the Church of God, to bring more disturbance to the same that hath to much alreadie. Though the King were stiffe, they ought not dispare of the grace of God, that a Kings stomacke was then to bee wonne, when hee had wonne, and might not blush to yeelde, when hee had ouercome: Patience, and Meekenesse, must pacifie him, &c. And in conclusion, wee speake foolishly* (say they) *but yet withall Charitie: if it come to passe that the Lord of* Canterbury *loose both his goods, and liue besides in perpetuall exile,*

exile; and England *which (God forbid) fall away from your obedience, were it not better to forbeare for a time, then with such zeale of seuerity to foster vp a party? what if persecution cannot seperate many of vs from you, yet will not there want knees to bow to* Baall, *and receiue the Pall of* Canterbury *at the hands of an Idoll, without choyce of religion, or Iustice: neither will there want suppliers of our* Chayres *that will obey him with all deuotion, and already, many deuoure these hopes; wishing that scandalls may come, and streight waies bee made crooked.*

Thus much out of their letters, which are the best peeces of History in the world, and shew vs more of the inside of affaires, then any relations else. And by this wee truely see what barres kept these two mighty powers back from their wills, and yet how lowde they threaten, and both a feard of each other.

But the King of England stood safe ynough, and was like to haue his businesses runne in a strong and intire course, when by casting to make things safer, then fast: he layes open a way both to disioynt his owne power, and imbroyle his people with diuision, which was by the association of his sonne *Henry* in the gouernment, *an act without example in this Kingdome*, and strange that a Parliament, an assembly of the State, conuoked for the same businesse, would in so wise rimes, consent to communicate the Crowne, and make the Common-wealth a Monster with two heads. But it seemes the strong desire of the King was such, for the loue he bare his sonne, as he would not bee denied in this motion, nor hold it a sufficient Security, to haue twice before caused all the Kingdome to take an Oath of Fealty vnto him, & to haue designed, vnlesse he were Crowned King, as he was, with all vsuall solemnities the 14 day of *Iune* 1170. by *Roger* Archbishop of Yorke, and had homage done vnto him that day by the King of *Scots*, *Dauid* his brother, and all the Nobility of England. But now with what reseruations this was done, wee are not particularly informed: whether there was an equall participation of rule, or onely but of Title: and that the Father, notwithstanding this Act, was to haue the especiall manage of the Gouernment, and the Sonne, though a King, yet a Sonne, with a limited powre. Howsoeuer, this young King shewed shortly after, *That a Crowne was no State to bee made ouer in trust*, and layd much griefe, and repentance, vpon his Fathers forwardnesse.

Prince *Henry* crowned King 1170.

Anno. Reg. 16.

What mooued the King with this precipitation (to be before hand with his Graue) may be deemed, the iealosie he had apprehended by his Mothers example, who *for all the Oath of Fealtie so often taken for her succession*, was yet put by it, through the working of the Clergie, and now considering in what termes hee stood with them, and that although he had wonne some few Bishops vnto him, was sure they loued him not, and what they might worke with the people, if himselfe should faile, made him ouer doe his worke.

The King of *France*, vnderstanding that his daughter was not Crowned with her husband (which by reason of her tender age was deferred) tooke it ill, and threatnes King *Henry* the Father with warre, if it were not presently done, which causes him to make more haste backe againe into *Normandy* (leauing the young King in *England*) to satisfie or preuent this quarreling Prince.

And whilst he remained there, meanes was made that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (who had beene now sixe yeares in exile) was brought to haue conference with the King, by the mediation of the King of France, *Theobald* Earle of *Bloys*, and diuers great Bishops, which the King of *England* was the more willing to accept, in regard hee saw this breach with the Church might much preiudice his temporall businesses whensoeuer they should breake out: and how the Archbishop continually was working the Pope, and all the great Prelates of the Christian world against him: which, *How much such a party as swayed the Empire of Soules might doe in a time of zeale, against a ruler of bodies*, was to bee considered. And therefore discends he from the higth of his will to his necessity, and they meete at *Montmiriall* before the King of *France*, where the Archbishop kneeling at the feete of his Soueraigne Lord the King of *England*, sayd, *Hee would commit the whole cause in controuersie to his Royall Order, Gods honour onely reserued.*

Beckets submission to the King.

The

The King (who had beene often vsed to that reseruation) grew into some choller, and sayd to the King of *France* and the rest: *Whatsoeuer displeaseth this man, hee would haue to be against Gods honour, and so by that shift, will challeng to himselfe all that belongs to mee: But because, you shall not thinke mee to goe about to resist Gods honour and him, in what shall bee fit, looke what the greatest and most Holy of all his Predecessors haue done to the meanest of mine, let him doe the same to mee and it shall suffice.* Which answere being, beyond expectation, so reasonable, turn'd the opinion of all the company to the Kings cause, in so much as the King of *France*, sayd to the Archbishop, *Will you bee greater then Saints? better than Saint* Peter? *what can you stand vpon? I see it is your fault, if your peace bee not made.* The Archbishop replied to this effect: *That as the authority of Kings had their beginning by Degrees, so had that of the Church, which being now by the prouidence of God, come to that Estate it was, they were not to follow the example of any, that had beene faint or yeelding in their places. The Church had risen, and increased out of many violent oppressions, and they were now to hold what it had gotten. Our Fathers (sayd hee) suffred all manner of afflictions, because they would not forsake the name of Christ, and shall I, to be reconciled to any mans fauour liuing, derogate any thing from his honour?*

The Kings offer to *Becket*.

Beckets reply.

This hauty reply of a subiect to so yeelding an offer of his Soueraigne, so much distasted the hearers, as they held the maintenance of his cause, rather to proceed from obstinacy then zeale, and with that impression, the conference for that time, brake vp. But afrer this, were many other meetings and much debate about the businesse. And the King of *France* (at whose charge lay the Archbishop all this while) came to another conference with them, vpon the Confines of Normandie: *Where, the King of* England *tooke the Archbishop apart, and had long speech with him; twice they alighted from their horses, twice remounted, and twice the King held the Archbishops bridell, and so againe they part, prepared for an attonement, but not concluding any.* In the end by mediation of the Archbishop of Rouen, the matter is quietly ended before the Earle of Bloys, at Amboys. And thereupon *Henry* the father, writes to *Henry* the sonne, being then in England, in this wise, *Know yee, that* Thomas *Archbishop of* Canterbury *hath made peace with me (to my will) and therefore I charge you, that hee and all his, haue peace: and that you cause to bee restored vnto him, and to all such (as for him) went out of* England, *all their substances, in as full and honourable manner, as they held it, three monethes before their going, &c.* And thus by this letter we see, in which King, the command lay.

The King and *Becket* accorded.

The Archbishop returning into England (not as one who had sought his peace, but inforced it) with larger powre to his resolution then before, *Suspends by the Popes Bull, the Archbishop of* Yorke *from all Episcopall Office, for Crowning the young King within the Prouince of* Canterbury, *without his leaue, and against the Popes commandement: and without taking (according to the custome) the Cautionary Oath, for conseruation of the liberties of the Church.* Hee brought also other letters *to suspend* in like manner, *The Bishops of* London, Salisbury, Oxford, Chester, Rochister, Saint Asaph, *and* Landaff; *for doing seruice at the Coronation, and vphoulding the Kings cause against him.* And by these Letters were they all to remaine suspended, till they had satisfied the Archbishop in so much, as he thought fit.

Becket returnes into England.

Thus to returne home, shewed that hee had the better of the time, and came all vntied, which so terrified the Bishops that presently (hauing no other refuge) they repaire to the King in Normandie, and shew him this violent proceeding of the Archbishop, *How since his returne hee was growne so imperious as there was no liuing vnder him.* Wherewith the King was so much mooued, as hee is sayd in extreame passion to haue vttered these words. *In what a miserable State am I, that cannot bee quiet, in mine owne Kingdome, for one onely Priest? is there no man will ridde mee of this trouble.* Whereupon (they report) foure Knights, Sir *Hugh Moruille*, Sir *William Tracy*, Sir *Richard Brittaine*, and Sir *Raynold Fitz Vrs* (then attending vpon the King, and gessing his desire by his words) depart presently into England, to bee the vnfortunate executioners of the same, but by some it seemes rather, these foure gentlemen were sent with Commission from the King to deale with the Archbishop in another manner, *And first to wish him to take his Oath of Fealty to the young King: then to restore these Bishops to the execution of their function*

function : and thirdly, to beare himselfe with more moderation in his place, whereby the Church might haue comfort vpon his returne, and the Kingdome quietnesse.

The murthering of *Becket*.

But they finding the Arch-bishop not answering their humor, but peremtory, & vntractable, without regarding their Masters message, grew into rage, & first from threatning force fell to commit it, and that in an execrable manner : putting on their armor (to make the matter more hideous) they entred into the Church, whither the Arch-bishop was with-drawn, the Monks at Diuine Seruice; and there calling him Traytor, and furiously reuiling him, gaue him many wounds, and at length strake out his braines, that with his bloud besprinkled the Altar. His behauiour in this act of death, his courage to take it : his passionate committing the cause of the Church, with his soule to God, and his Saints : the place, the time, the manner, and all aggrauates the hatred, of the deed, and makes compassion, and opinion, to be on his side.

The vnfortunate Gentlemen (hauing effected this great seruice, rifled the Arch-bishops house; and after waighing the foulenesse of what they had committed, and doubtfull whether the King, though they had done him a great pleasure, would seeme so to acknowledge it) withdrew themselues into the North parts; and from thence pursued, fled into seuerall Countreys, where they all within foure yeares after (as is reported) died miserable Fugitiues.

The Murtherers miserable ende.

Soone ranne the rumor of this deed, with full mouth ouer all the Christian world, euery pen, that had passion, was presently set on worke. The King of *France* (himselfe) informes the Pope of the whole manner, with aggrauation of the foulenesse thereof, and incites him to vse the most exquesit punishment he could; *To vnsheath* Peters *sword, to reuenge the death of the Martyr of* Canterbury, *whose bloud cries out for all the Church, and whose diuine glory was already reuealed in miracles.*

The King of *Fraunce* informes the Pope of *Beckets* murther.

Theobald Earle of *Bloys*, a great and graue Prince (elder brother to King *Stephen*) sends likewise his information to the Pope, and shewes him, *how he was at the peace-making betweene the King of* England *and this blessed Martyr : and with what a cheerefull countenance, with what willingnesse the King confirmed the agreement, granting him power to vse his authority as it should please the Pope and him against those Bishops, which had contrary to the right, and dignity of the Church of* Canterbury *presumed to intrude the new King into the Royall throne. And this he would iustifie by his Oath, or howsoeuer : and in this peace* (saith he) *the man of God doubting nothing, puts his necke vnder the sword : this innocent lambe the morrow vpon Saint* Innocents *day, suffered Martyrdome : the iust bloud was shed, where the shot of our saluation, the bloud of Christ is offered.* And then : *how Court dogges, the Kings familiars and domesticks, were his ministers to execute this horrible act, concluding with an exhortation likewise of reuenge.*

The Earle of *Bloys* informes likewise.

But *William* Atch-bishop of *Sens* comes with a more maine outcry, as if he would wake the Pope, were he neuer so dead asleepe : and tels him, *how he was appointed ouer Nations, and Kingdomes, to bind their Kings in fetters, and their Nobles with manacles of iron : that all power both in Heauen and Earth was giuen to his Apostleship : bids him looke how the Bore of the wood had rooted vp the Vineyard of the Lord of Saboath, &c. and all, in that most powerfull phrase of holy writ.* And after, hauing bitterly inueyed against the King, vses these words : *It imports you, O most milde keeper of the walles of* Ierusalem, *to reuenge that which is past, and prouide for the future. What place shall be safe, if the rage of tyranny shall imbrew the* Sancta Sanctorum *with bloud, and teare in peeces the Vicè-gerents of Christ, the foster children of the Church, without punishment ? Arme therefore all the Ecclesiasticall power you may, &c.*

The Arch-bishop of *Sens* writes to the Pope.

Such and so great was the vprore of the Church, raised vpon these motiues, as notwithstanding the King of *England* (then the greatest Prince of all the Christian world) imployed the most especiall men could be chosen in all his Dominions, *for reputation, learning, and iudgement, to declare his innocencie to the Pope : to vowe and protest that he was so farre from willing such a deed to be done, as he was from doing it himselfe, and how grieuously hee tooke the matter when he heard thereof*; yet so deepe was the impression setled before hand, and his name made so odious at Rome, as not onely the Pope denied Audience to his Ambassadors, but euery Cardinall, and all other his Ministers refused to haue any conference

The King declares his innocency by Embassage to the Pope.

Pope, & Cardinals denied audience refused conference.

ference with them. Which, with the hard passage they had in going thither, by the many dangers and restraints they indured, and now the contempt they found there, did (as they signified to the King) much discourage them. Yet for all this were there those braue Spirits among them (as great Princes haue alwaies great Ministers) that neuer gaue ouer working to cleere their maisters honour, by Apologies, remonstrances, and all whatsoeuer wit could deuise: and dealt so, as they kept off the great confounding blow of the highest Censure, though it were euery day threatned and expected. And hauing (by grauely vrging the mischiefes, might follow in the Church; if a King of so great a State, and stomacke, should bee driuen to take desperate courses) giuen some pawse, and allay to the first heate; they timed it out all that Spring, and a great part of the next Sommer; when, although they could giue the King no great security, yet they aduertise him of hope. But the sending of two Cardinals a *Latere Gratianus* and *Viuianus* downe into Normandie did exceedingly vexe him. For they were rough against him, and would haue interdicted him, and his Dominions: but being forewarned of their comming and intention, hee appeales to the presence of the Pope, and so put off that trouble. Returning out of *Normandie* into *England*, hee giues strict commandement, *That no briefe carrier of what condition or order soeuer, without giuing good security for his behaviour to the King, and Kingdome, bee suffred to passe the Seas.*

The Conquest of Ireland.

Notwithstanding all the vexation the Church put this King into, hee left nothing vndone that concerned the aduancement of his affaires, but as if now the rather, to shew his powre and greatnesse, takes this time for an expedition into Ireland (hauing commanded a Nauie of foure hundred shippes to bee ready at *Milford-Hauen* for the transportation of Men, Victuals, and Armour) and sets foorth in the beginning of Nouember, an vnseasonable time, both for those Seas, and the inuasion of a Countrey not well knowne. But the businesse (it seemes) was well prepared for him, hauing had an intention thereof, euer since the second yeare of his raigne, in which *hee sent a solemne Ambassage to* Pope Adrian the fourth, *to craue leaue for the subdument of that Countrey, vnder pretence of reducing those rude people from their vicious fashions to the fayth and way of truth.* Which the Pope willingly graunted, and returnes the Ambassadours, with an autenticall concession thereof in writing, to this effect. *First shewing how laudable a thing it was, and how fitting the magnificence of so mighty a King to propagate his glorious name on Earth, and heape vp reward of eternall felicity in Heauen, by extending the bounds of the Church, reducing rude and vnlettered people from their vicious manners, to the verite of the Christian faith, and ciuilitie.* And *then gines him powre to inuade the same, and to execute whatsoeuer should bee to the Honour of God, and good of the Countrey, with reseruation of* Church-rights, *and* Peeter-pence (a penny of euery house yearely, which hee had promised by his Ambassadors) and so concluds with an exhortation *to plant men of good and examplar life in the Clergie, &c.*

Dermot complains against *O Conor* to King *Henry.*

But the King at that time, hauing other occasions, left off the purpose of this, which comes now of late to bee againe imbraced by this meanes: *Dermot Mac Murrgh* one of the fiue Kings which then ruled that Island comes vnto him into *Aquitaine* to craue his ayde against *Rodorick* the Great, called *O Conor Dun*, King of Connaught who, contending for the Soueraigntie of the whole had chaced him out of his Dominion of *Lemster.*

Dermots offences.

The King of *England* (glad to finde a doore thus opened to his intention, that might yeeld passage of it selfe without being broken vp) intertaines this eiected King with promises of ayde: and though hee could not as then furnish him, being ingaged in other great affaires, he yet permits such of his subiects as would, to aduenture their fortunes with him. But the occasion of the dissention betweene these two Irish Kings was indeed fowle on the part of *Dermot*, *who had corrupted, and stolne away the wife of* Rodoricke *and for that odious iniury, with his iniustice to his people (the common causes of ruininge and transferring Kingdomes)* hee was by strong hand chaced out of his Dominion of *Lemster*; and thereupon makes out for forraine aide. And (hauing thus dealt with the King of *England*) he betakes him into *Wales*, where first he wrought one *Robert Fitz*

Fits Stephen, a man of a despetate fortune (yet able to draw many voluntaries) to contract with him: and afterward *Richard* (of the house of *Clare*) surnamed *Strong-bow*, Earle of *Pembrooke*, commonly called (of his chiefe seate in *Monmoth-shire*) Earle of *Chepstow*, or *Strigil*, a Lord of high courage and worthinesse, which made him well followed, and of great possessions both in *England* and *Normandy*, which gaue him meanes for his entertainements. *Fits Stephen* was perswaded by promise of rich rewards. The Earle of mattiage with *Eua* the daughter of *Dermot*, & the succession of the Kingdome of *Lemster*.

The conqnest of Ireland.

Fits Stephen with *Maurice Fits Gerard*, his halfe brother by the mother, passed ouer first with a small company, and landed at the place called by the *Irish* Bagg-bun, which in *English* signifies *Holy*, and therefore interpreted as presaging good successe, whereof this time retaines yet the memory, *At the head of* Bagge *and* Bun, Ireland *was lost, and wonne*. And the next day after arriued at the same place, *Maurice de Prendergast*, with other men at armes, and many Archers in two ships, parcell of *Fits Stephens* forces, which from thence marched to the Citty of *Weishford*, with Banners displayed, in so strange a forme and order (though their number were not foure hundreth) as the *Irish* vnacquainted with so vnusuall a face of warre, were ouercome with feare, and rendred vp themselues to their mercy with their Citty of *Weisford*, which with the Countrey about, was giuen by *Dermot* to *Robert Fits Stephen*, for an encouragement to him and hope to others. And there was planted the first Colonie of the *English*, which euer since hath continued, retaining still in a sort our antient attire, and much of our language, proper onely to that Citty and Countrey about, and called by a distinct name, *Weisford speech*.

Triginta Militibus.

The beginning of May.

1170. *Anno. Reg.* 16.

The next yeate are new supplies sent out of *Wales*, and after, vpon intelligence of good successe the Earle of *Pembrok* ariues in the Bay of *Waterford* with two hundred men at armes and a thousand other souldiours, takes the towne, which was then called *Porthlarge*, puts the inhabitants to the sword (to giue terror to others, and make roome for his owne people) and there *Dermot* giues him his daughter in marriage, with the dowry of his Country, which, after his wickednesse had vndone, hee liued not to see more yeares (hauing had to many by this) and dies miserably, leauing the Stile of *Ningal* (which signifies) *the strangers friend*, added to his name, in memory of his vnnaturall forsaking his owne Nation.

1171. *Anno. Reg.* 17.

Strongbow, after hauing secuted the places gotten, marches with those small forces he had ouer the Island without resistance. *Rodoricke* the Great (shewing himselfe but a little Prince) kept in the *Wildes* and fastnesses of *Connaught*, and neuer came to appeare before the enemy; who passing through the Country at his pleasure, takes what pledges he would of the inhabitants to secute their obedience, and with as little labour possest himselfe of the Citie of *Dublin* the head of the Island.

Thus *Wales* got vs first the Realme of *Ireland*, and (which is most strange) without stroke of battaile: a thing scarce credible, that a Country so populous, a Nation of that disposition, should not lift vp a hand to defend it selfe: hauing, it seemes, either neglected the vse of Armes, or else neuer beene acquainted with them (other then in a naked manner of domesticke fight one with another) whereby, the terror of strange, and neuer before seene forces in order of warre, layd them prostrate to the mercy of the *Ouer-runner*.

But the King of *England* aduertised of the prosperous successe of these Aduenturers and the Estate of the Country grew in iealousie of them, thinking they presumed farther then their subiection would allow, and would make themselues that which they must bee made by him, and take away the glory of the worke that should bee onely his; causes proclamation to be made: *That no vessell should carry any thing out of his Dominions into* Ireland, *and that all his subiects should returne from thence, and leaue off their attempts, otherwise to forfeit their Estates at home*. And withall sends ouer *William Fitz Adelm*, and *Robert Fitz Bernard* with some forces to prepare the way for him who followed shortly after, and lands eight miles from *Waterford* the Eue of Saint *Luke Anno* 1172. being the third yeare after the first *Inuasion* made by *Fitz Stephen*.

1172. *Anno. Reg.* 18.

At

At his first landing a white Hare starting out of a bush was taken, and presented to him interpreted as a presage of a white victory. The next day hee marches to Waterford where he staied fifteene dayes; and thither came to him of their owne accord, the Kings of *Corke*, *Limricke*, *Oxerie*, *Meth*, and all of any powre in *Ireland* (except *Rodoricke* King of *Connaught*, who still kept himselfe in the fastnesse of his Countrey) *and submitted themselues with all the Clergie, taking their Oath of Fealty to him, and the young King, and their Successors for euer*; so these deuided Princes holding no common Councell for the publique safty: rather then to ioyne those hands that had so often scratched each other, fell all from themselues, and with the same emulation they had in libertie, stroue for their seruitude who should be first to receiue a forraine maister.

The *Irish* kings submission.

From *Waterford* the King goes to *Dublin*, where, hee holds an Assembly of all these subiect Kings, with the Lords Spirituall, and Temporall of *Ireland*, for the further ratification of their allegiance, and the ordering and reformation of the State. Which done hee causes the Bishops with the Clergie there to assemble at *Cassell*, and appoints an especiall Chaplaine of his owne, with the Archdeacon of *Landaff* to bee assistants and aduisors vnto them for reformation of Church-businesses, which seemes to haue beene as disordred as the people, for though the Irish had beene long before Christians, it was after a wilde and mixt fashion, and therefore, according to his promise made to the late Pope, and to doe a worke pleasing to the present, it was decreed, *That all Church-lands should be free from the exaction of secular men: and that from thence forth, all Diuine things should bee ordered, and vsed in euerie part of* Ireland *according to the manner of the Church of* England, being fit (as saith the Cannon) *that as* Ireland *hath by Gods mercy obtained a Lord and King out of* England, *so from thence they should receiue a better forme of life, and manners then heretofore they vsed.*

Henries reformation of *Ireland*.

His *Christmasse* he keepes at *Dublin*, where he royally feasts all his Kings & great men of the Countrey, the rest of his being there he imployes in fortifying and planting Garnisons where most need required: he makes *Hugh Lacy* Iustice of all *Ireland*, giues him the keeping of *Dublin*, and besides confirmed vnto him and his heires, by his Charter, the Countrey of *Meth* to hold the same in Fee, for the seruice of a hundreth Knights: he bestowes on *Robert Fits Bernard* the keeping of the Townes of *Waterford* and *Weisford* (which he tooke from *Fits Stephen* the first inuador) with charge to build Castles in them: and to humble the Earle *Strongbaw*, and leuell him with the rest of his subiects, he takes from him all his dependants, and makes them his.

So was it but his winters worke to get a Kingdome, which though thus easily won it proued more difficult, and costly in the keeping, by reason the prosequition of a full establishment thereof was neither by him or his successors (hauing other diuertments) euer throughly accomplished.

On *Easter* monday he sets out for *England*, where he makes no stay, but takes the young King along in his company, and passes ouer into *Normandy* to meete other two Legates (*Theodinus* and *Albertus*) who were sent from Pope *Alexander* (but in milder fashion then the last) to examine the murther of the late Arch-bishop *Becket*. Foure moneths were spent in debating the matter, and in the end, the King by his Oath taken vpon the Reliques of Saints, and the holy Euangelists, before the two Legates in the presence of King *Henry* the sonne, the Arch-bishop of *Rouen*, and all the Bishops, and Abbots of *Normandy* in the Citty of *Auranches* purged himselfe, of either commanding, or consenting to the murther. Yet for that he doubted least they who committed the same might be moued thereunto by seeing him disturbed, and in passion: he tooke the same Oath; that in satisfaction thereof, he would faithfully performe these Articles following: *First, neuer to forsake Pope* Alexander, *nor his Catholicke Successors, so long as they vsed him as a Catholicke King. Secondly, That Appeales should freely be made to the Pope, in causes Ecclesiasticall.* Prouided, that if any were suspected, to worke euill to him, or his Kingdome, they should then put in security before they departed. *Thirdly, That he would (from Christmas next for three yeares to come) vndertake the Crosse, and the sommer following, in person go to* Ierusalem, *vnlesse he were stayed by the Pope, or his Successors, or imploied against the* Sarasins *in* Spaine. *Fourthly, That in the meane time, he should deliuer so much money*

His purgation for *Beckets* murther.

money into the Templars hands as by their opinion would entertaine two hundreth souldiers in the Holy warre for one yeare. Fiftly, call home all such as had endured banishment for the Arch-bishop. Sixtly, Restore his possessions. Seuenthly, and lastly, abolish all such customes as in his time had beene introduced to the preiudice of the Church. After himselfe had sworne, he caused King *Henry* his sonne to sweare to all these Articles, except such as concerned his owne person. And for a more Memory in the Roman Church, he caused his Seale to be set vnto them, with that of the two Cardinals. So ended this tedious businesse, that made more noyse in the world, then any he had; and bowed him more: beeing his ill fortune, to grapple with a man of that free resolution as made his sufferings, his glory: had his ambition, beyond this world; set vp his rest, not to yeeld to a King; was onely ingaged to his cause, had opinion, and beliefe, to take his part: Which so much preuailed, as the King seeking to maister him, aduanced him; and now is he faine to kneele, and pray to his Shrine, whom he had disgraced, in his person, and hauing had him aboue his will, whilest he liued, hath him now ouer his Faith, being dead. And yet 48. yeares after this, saith the *French* History, it was disputed among the Doctors of *Paris*, whether he were damned or saued: And one *Roger* a *Norman* maintained, he had iustly deserued death, for rebelling against his Soueraigne, the Minister of God.

Both Kings sweare to these Articles.

To make the better way to the ending of this businesse, and content the King of *Fraunce*; *Henry* the sonne is againe Crowned, and with him *Margaret* his wife, with permission shortly after, to goe visite *Paris*; where, this young King, apt inough (though not to know himselfe) yet to know his State, receiued those instructions as made his ambition quite turne off his obedience, and conceiue, *How to be a King, was to be a power aboue, and vndeuideable.*

Henry the sonne is again crowned with *Margaret* his wife.

And to further the birth of this apprehension, fell out this occasion. The Father euer awake to aduance his greatnesse, takes a iourney in person into *Auergnia*, and so to *Monferrato*; and there purchases a match for the price of fiue thousand Markes, for his yongest sonne *Iohn*, with *Alice* the eldest daughter of *Hubert*, Earle of *Mauriena* (then, as it seemes) Lord of *Piemont* and *Sauoy*, with condition to haue with her the inheritance of all those Countreys, containing many great Signories, Cities, and Castles, specified in *Roger Houeden* with all the circumstances, and couenants, very remarkeable, of the contract. So vnto greatnesse (that easier increases then begins) is added more meanes, and euery way opens to this actiue, and powrefull King aduantages of State, in so much, as the King of France was euen surrownded with the powre, & dependances of this mightie King of *Eng.* whose fortunes most of all the neighbor Princes (which subsist by other, then their owne powre) now follow. And being returned from concluding this Match in *Piemont*, there comes vnto him lying at *Limoges*, *Raymond* Earle of Saint *Gyles* (by whom was giuen the first affront he had in France) now to doe homage vnto him for the Earledome of *Tholouse*: and there became the man of the King of *England*, and of his sonne *Richard* Earle of *Poictou*, to hold *Tholouse* from them (by hereditary right) for seruice of comming vnto them vpon their sommons, and remayning in their seruice fortie daies at his owne charge: and if they would intertaine him longer to allow him reasonable expenses. Besides the Earle should pay yearely, for *Tholouse*, and the appertinances a hundred markes of siluer, or ten Horses, worth ten Markes a peece.

Vide Append.

1173. *Anno.* *Reg.* 19.

The homage of *Raymond* Earle of Saint *Gyles* for the Earld. of Tholouse.

About the same time also came the Earle *Hubert* to *Limoges* (to know what Land the King of *England* would assure his sonne *Iohn*) who resolued to giue vnto him the Castles of *Chinon*, *Lodun* and *Mirabell*. Wherewith King *Henry* the sonne grew much displeased, and here mooued his Father, either to resigne vnto him, the Dutchie of *Normandie*, the Earledome of *Aniou*, or the Kingdome of *England* for his maintenance: in which motion, hee was the more egar being incensed by the King of *France*, and the discontented Lords, both of *England*, and *Normandie* who were many, and falne, or wrought from the Father, vpon new hopes, and the aduantage of a deuided Soueraignty.

Henry the son takes displeasure against his father.

And though there were many other occasions, of this defection of the sonne, from the

the Father; yet, that this for these Castles should first bee taken (may seeme to bee the worke of Gods especiall iudgement) being those peeces, which himselfe had taken from his owne brother *Geffrey*, contrary to his Oath, made vnto his Father as is before related: so (as if to tell iniustice, that it must bee duely repayed) the same Castles are made to bring mischiefe vpon him, and to giue a beginning to the fowlest discorde that could bee: wherein hee had not onely the Children of his owne bodie, but the Wife of his bedde to conspire, and practise against him.

For, hereupon the sonne sodainely breaking away from the Father came to *Paris*, where, the King of *France* (who had no other meanes to preuent, the ouergrowing of a neighbour) but to deuide him; sommons and solicites, the Princes of *France*, and all the friends he could make to ayde King *Henry* the sonne against the father, and to take thir Oath, *either to disposses him of his Estate, or bring him to their owne conditions.* The young King likewise sweares vnto them, *Neuer to haue peace with his father without their consents, and all sweares to giue vnto* Philip *Earle of* Flanders *for his ayde a thousand pounds* English *by the yeare with the County of* Kent, Douer, *and* Rochester Castles: *To* Mathew *Earle of* Bologne *brother to the sayd Earle for his seruice* Kerton Soak *in* Lindsey, *the Earldome of* Morton *with the* Honour of Heize: *To* Theobald *Earle of* Bloys *two hundred pounds by yeare in* Aniou: *the Castle of* Amboys *with all the right hee pretended in* Tureine *&c.* and all these Donations with diuers other, he confirmed by his *new Seale* which, the King of *France* caused to be made. Besides, by the same Seale, *He confirmed to the King of* Scots, *for his ayde, all* Northumberland *vnto* Tyne: *and gaue, to the brother of the same King, for his seruice, the Earldomes of* Huntingdon, *and* Cambridge. *To the Earle* Hugh Bigot *the Castle of* Norwich: *other Earles of* England, *as* Robert *Earle of* Leicester, Hugh *Earle of* Chester, Roger Mowbray *&c. had likewise their rewards and promises of the* Lions Skin, *that was yet aline.*

Besides they draw into their partie *Richard*, and *Geffrey*: whose youths (apt to bee wrought on, for increase of their allowance) are easily intised; and with them their mother in raged with iealosie, and disdaine for her husbands conceiued abuses of her bed. So that, this great King in the middest of his glory, about the twentith yeare of his raigne, comes sodainely forsaken of his owne people, and is driuen through distrust to hire, and intertaine strange forces; procuring twenty thousand *Brabansons* (which were cettaine Mercinaries commonly called the Routs or Costerels) for the recouery and holding of his Estate. And some few faithfull Ministers he had (notwithstanding this generall defection) who tooke firmly to him: as *William* Earle *Mandeuile*, *Hugh de Lacy*, *Hugh de Beauchamp*, *&c.*

But howsoeuer we haue seene the best of this Kings glorie, and though he had after this good successes, hee had neuer happinesse: labour hee did by all meanes to haue qualified the heat of his distempered sonne, by many mediations of peace: offring all conuenient allowances for his Estate, but all would not preuaile: his sword is drawne, and with him the King of *France* with all his forces enters vpon his territories on that side the Sea; on this the King of *Scots* seizes vpon *Northumberland*; and makes great spoyles. The olde King complaines to the Emperour, and all the neighbour Princes his friends, of the vnnaturall courses of his sonne, and of his owne improuident aduancing him *William* King of *Sicile*, writes, and condoles his misfortunes, but lay too fatre off to helpe him.

The King of *France* besieges *Vernoul* a place of great strength, and importance, which *Hugh de Lacy*, and *Hugh de Beauchamp* valiantly defended, and after a monthes siege, they of the towne (victualls fayling) obtained truce of the King of *France* and permission to send vnto their Soueraigne for succour, *Which if it came not within three daies, they would render the Cittie, and in the meane time their Ostages.* The peremptorie day was the Eue of Saint *Laurence*. The King of *France* with King *Henry* the sonne, and with diuers great Lords and Bishops swore, if they rendred the Citie at the day appointed, their Ostages should bee redeliuered, and no dammage done to the Citie.

King *Henry* the Father with all the forces he could make came iust at the limitted day; disposes his Army to strike battaile with his enemies; but the King of *France* to auoyde the same, sends the Archbishoppe of *Sens*, and the Earle of *Bloys* to mediate a parle, which was appointed the morrow: this day lost, lost *Vernoul*. For, to the morrow Parle, the King of *France* neither comes, nor sends; but had entrance into the Towne (according to couenants) which contrary to his Oath, hee sackes, takes with him the Ostages, and spoyle thereof: remoues his Campe, and leaues the King of *England* disappointed; who that night, after hauing persued the flying Army with some spoyle, enters into *Vernoul*, and the morrow surprises *Danuile* a Castle of his enemies, with many prisoners. Thence he goes to *Rouen*, whence, hee sent his *Brabansons* into *Brittaine* against *Hugh* Earle of *Chester*, and *Ralph Fulgiers*, who had posset themselues almost of the whole Country, but being not able to resist the Kings forces in the field, they with all the great men in those parts, and that side of *France* recouered the Castle of *Dole*; where, they fortified and kept themselues, till King *Henry* the Father came in person besieged and tooke it: and with them, about foure score Lords, men of name and action. Whereupon all the rest of the Countrey yeelded themselues.

This ouerthrow being of such import so terrified the aduersaries; as they negotiate a Peace, and a Parle is appointed betweene *Gisors* and *Try* wherein the King of *England* (though hee had the better of the day) condiscended to make offer to his sonne *of halfe the reuenues of the Crowne of* England, *with foure conuenient Castles therein*; or if hee had rather remaine in Normandy, *halfe the reuenues thereof, and all the reuenues of the Earledome of* Aniou *&c.* To his sonne *Richard* hee offers *halfe the reuenues of* Aquitaine *and foure Castles in the same.* To Geffrey, *the Land that should come vnto him by the daughter of the Earle* Conon. Besides, *hee submitted himselfe to the arbitration of the Archbishop of* Tarento, *and the Popes Legates, to adde any allowance more as in their iudgements should be held fit*, reseruing vnto himselfe *his Iustice and royall powre*: which yeelding grants shewed how much he desired this peace.

But it was not in the purpose of the King of France, that the same should take effect: for such peuersnesse and indignitie was offred to King *Henry* in this Treaty, as *Robert* Earle of *Leceſter* is sayd to haue reproched him to his face, and offered to draw his sword vpon him, so that, they breake off in turbulent manner, and their troupes fell presently to bickering betweene *Curteles*, and *Gisors*, but the *French* had the worse.

The Earle of *Leicester* with an Army makes ouer into *England*, is receiued by *Hugh Bygot* into the Castle of *Fremingham*. *Richard de Lucy* chiefe Iustice of *England*, and *Humfrey Bohun* the Kings Constable, being vpon the borders of *Scotland*, hearing thereof, make truce with the King of Scots. And haste to Saint *Edmondsburie* where the Earles of *Cornwall*, *Glocester*, and *Arundell* ioyne with them, they encounter the Earle of *Leicester*, at a place called *Farnham*, ouerthrew his Army, slue tenne thousand Flemings, tooke him, his Wife, and diuers great prisoners; which were sent vnto the king in Normandie; who, with his Army was not there idle, but dayly got Castles, and Forts from his Enemies, vntill Winter constrained both kings to take truce till Easter following: and the like did the Bishop of *Duresme* with the king of *Scots*, for which hee gaue him three thousand Markes of siluer, to bee payed out of the Lands of the Barons of *Northumberland*.

1174. *Anno. Reg.* 20. The Spring come on, and the truce expired, king *Henrie* the Sonne, and *Phillippe* Earle of Flaunders are readie at *Graueling* with a great Armie for *England*. The king of *Scots* is entred *Norththumberland*, and sends his brother *Dauid* with a powre to succour the remnant of the forces of the Earle of *Leicester*, which held the Towne of *Leicester*, but without successe: for *Richard Lucy*, and the Earle of *Cornwall* had before rased the Citie and taken *Robert Moubray*, comming likewise to ayde those of the Castle.

Henry the fathers arriuall in England.

King *Henry* the Father vpon his Sonnes preparation for *England* drawes his forces from his other imployments, and brings them downe to *Barbfleet*, ariues at *Southampton* with

with his prisoners, Queene *Elioner*, *Margueret* the wife of his sonne *Henry*, the Earles of *Leicester*, and *Chester*; and from thence goes to *Canterbury* to visit the Sepulcher of his owne Martyre and performe his vowes for his victories. And they write how comming within sight of the Church, *Hee alights, and went three miles on his bare feete; which with the hard stones were forced to yeeld bloudie tokens of his deuotion on the way.* And as, if to recompence (the merit of this worke) they note, *How the verie daie when hee departed from* Canterburie, *the King of* Scots *to bee ouerthrowne and taken at* Alnwick, by the forces of the Knights of Yorkeshire, which are named to bee: *Robert de Stuteuile*, *Odonel de Humfreuile*, *William de Vesey*, *Ralph de Glanuile*, *Ralph de Tilly*, and *Bernard Baliol.*

King *Henry* visits *Beckets* Sepulcher.

Lewis King of *France*, hearing of King *Henries* passage into *England*, and the taking of the King of *Scots*, calls backe *Henrie* the sonne, and the Earle of *Flaunders* from *Grauelin*, where, they stayed expecting the winde, and besieged *Roan* on all sides sauing that of the Riuer. The whilst King *Henrie* is quieting and settling the State of *England*, where hee had first the Castle of *Huntingdon* rendred vnto his mercie, sauing the liues, and members of the defendants: then the Castles of *Fremingham* and *Bungaie* which the Earle *Bygot* helde by force of *Flemings*; for whom (the Earles submission could hardly obtaine pardon) but in the ende they were sent home. From thence hee goes to *Northampton*: where, hee receiues the King of *Scots* his prisoner, and the Castles of *Duresme*, *Norham*, and *Alnerton* rendred into his hands by the Bishoppe of *Duresme*; who, for all his seruice done in the North, stood not cleere in the Kings opinion. There came likewise thither *Roger de Mowbray* yeelding vp himselfe with his Castle of *Treske*: the Earle *Ferrers* his Castles of *Tutsburie* and *Duffield*: *Anketill*, *Mallory*, and *William Diue*, Constables of the Earle of *Leicester*, the Castles of *Leicester*, *Montsorill*, and *Groby*, so that within three weekes, all *England* was quieted, and all without drawing of sword, which in those manly daies seemed only reserued for the field.

The King of Scots his prisoner.

This done, and supplied with one thousand Welshmen; King *Henry* with his prisoners the King of *Scots*, the Earles of *Leicester* and *Chester*, passes ouer into *Normandie*, to the releefe of *Roan*: where those thousand Welshmen sent ouer the riuer *Siene* entred, and made way through the Campe of the King of *France*; slue a hundred of his men, and recouered a wood without any losse of theirs. After which exploit, the King of *England* (causing the gates of the Citie, to be set open, the Barracadoes taken away, the trenches they had made, betweene the *French* Campe and the Cittie to bee filled vp againe, with rubbish and timber) marched foorth with troupes, to prouoke the enemy, but without any answere at all. In the end the King of *France*, sends away the weakest of his people before, and followed after with the rest, vpon sufferance of the King of *England* by the mediation of the Archbishop of *Sens*, and the Earle of *Bloys*, who vndertooke that hee should the next day come to a parle of peace, which hee performed not.

King *Henry* fauours the French army.

But shortly after (seeing this action had so little aduantaged either him, or those, for whom hee pretented to haue vndertaken it) hee imployes the former Agents againe to the King of *England*: and peace with a reconciliation is concluded betweene him, and his sonnes. But with more reseruation on his part, then had beene by the former treatie offered, as hauing now, more of powre, and the aduantage of fortune: and yet yeelding so much, as shewed, *the goodnesse of his Nature was not ouer swayed by his ambition*; all his proceeding in this warre witnessing, that *necessity did euer worke more then his will.*

The King and his sonne reconciled as the Charter of Peace shewes. *Rog. Houed.*

And at the signing of the Chartet of this Peace, when his sonne *Henry* would haue done him homage (which is personall seruice) he refused to take it, because hee was a King, but receiued it of *Richard*, and *Geffrey*. Yet after this, *Henry* the sonne to free his father of all scruple became his Liege-man, and swore Fealty vnto him against all men in the presence of the Archbishop of *Rouen*, the Bishop of *Bayeux*, the Earle *Mandeuile*, and a great Nobilitie.

Vide Append.

At the concluding this Peace, the Earle of *Flaunders* yeelded vp to King *Henry*

Henrie the Father, the Charter made vnto him by the Sonne for his remuneration, and had another confirmed for the pension hee had yearely out of *England* before this warre, which was *one thousand Markes out of the Eschequer* afterward granted vpon condition *of Homage, and for finding the King of* England *yearely fiue hundred souldiours for the space of fortie daies vpon summons giuen.*

This businesse ended, the Father and Sonne make their Progresses into all their Prouinces on that side to visit and reforme the disorders of Warre, and to settle their affaires there. *Richard* is sent into *Aquitaine:* and *Geffrey* into *Brittaine*, vpon the same businesse, and there left with their Counsells to looke to their owne.

1175. *Anno.* *Reg.*21. *Vide* App end.

The two Kings, Father and Sonne shortly after returne into *England*, where reformation in the Gouernment needed as much as in *France:* and here had the Archbishoppe of *Canterburie* sommoned a Councell of the Clergie wherein were manie enormities of the Church reformed, as may bee seene in the Canons of that Synod. The King supplies all Vacancies, and giues to *Iohn de Oxenford*, that great Minister of his) the Bishopricke of *Norwich*, then takes hee into his hands all the Castles hee could seize on; amongst other the Towre of *Bristoll*, which was rendred by the Earle of *Glocester* and was neuer in his hands before. *Hee takes penalties both of Clerkes and Lay-men, who had trespassed his Forests in time of Hostility:* for which hee is taxed of wrong, *Richard Lucy* Iustice of *England*, hauing warrant by the Kings precept to discharge them for the same. But the profit which they yeelded him made him take the stricter regard therein. For after the death of *Alain de Neuile* which had beene chiefe Iustice of all the Forrests of England, hee deuides them into diuers parts, appointing *to euerie part foure Iustices*, whereof *two to bee Clerkes*, and *two, Knights*, and *two, Seruants of his Houshold to bee Keepers of the Game ouer all other Forresters, either of the Kings, Knights, or Barons whatsoeuer, and gaue them power to implea, according to the Assiese of the Forrest.*

All Vacancies supplied by the King.

1176. *Anno.* *Reg.*22. *Vide* Append.

The King beeing at Yorke, there came vnto them *William* King of *Scots*, with almost all the Bishoppes, Abbots, and Nobilitie of *Scotland*, and confirmed the Peace, and finall concorde which had formerly beene, in the time of his imprisonment, at *Faleise* in *Normandie:* before all the greatest Estates of both Kingdomes; the Tenour whereof is to bee seene in *Roger Houeden.*

After this, a Councell is called at *Windsor*, whither repaire certaine Bishoppes of *Ireland*, and the Chauncelour of *Rodoric* King of *Conaught*, for whom a finall concord is concluded, vpon doing Homage, Fealty, and a tribute to bee paide, which was, *of euerie tenne Beasts, one sufficient Hide, within his Kingdome, and those Prouinces that held thereof.*

Within a while after, a Councell or Parliament is assembled at *Nottingham*, and by aduice and consent thereof, the King caused *The Kingdome to bee deuided into sixe parts, and constitutes for euerie part three Iustices itinerants, causing them to take an Oath vpon the Holie Euangelists, faithfullie for themselues to obserue, and cause inuiolablie to bee obserued of all his Subiectes of* England, *the Assises made at* Claringdone, *and renued at* Northamton, which Assises were chiefly *for Murther, Theft, Roberie, and their receiuers: for deceipts, and burning of Houses*, which facts if found *by the Verdict of twelue men*, the *accused* were to passe the tryall *of Water Ordeil*, whereby, if not acquitted, *their punishment*, was *losse of a legge, or banishment*, that Age seeming to hold it a greater example of a Malefactor miserably liuing, then of one dead, for as yet they came *not so farre as bloud*, in those cases.

The Kingdom deuided into sixe parts for Iustice. *Vide* Append.

Vide Append.

And yet wee finde in the raigne of this King, that one *Gilbert Plumton* Knight, accused for a Rape, before *Ranulph de Glanuile*, chiefe Iustice of England (desirous, sayth *Houeden* by vniust sentence to condemne him) was adiuged, to bee hanged on a Gibbet, whereunto, when hee was brought, and in the hands of the Executioner, the people ranne out crying, *that an innocent and iust person ought not so to suffer.* Balduin Bishoppe of *Worcester*, a religious man and fearing God, hearing the clamor of the people, and the iniury done to this miserable creature, came foorth, and

and forbad them, *from the part of the Omnipotent God, and vnder paine of Excommunication that they should not put him to death that day, being Holy; and the Feast of Saint* Maty Magdelene, whereupon the excution was put off till the morrow. That night meanes was wrought to the King, who commanded *a stay to bee made till other order were taken*, being informed that for the enuie which *Glanuile* bare to this *Plumton*, hee was desirous to put him to death, in regard hee had married the daughter of *Roger Gulwast* an inheritrix, whom hee would haue had *Reiner* his Shriefe of Yorkeshire to haue had, which act leaues a foule staine of Iniustice vpon the memory of this Chiefe Iustice *Glanuile*: in the time of whose Office, a tract of the Lawes, and Customes of the Kingdome of England was composed, which now passes vnder his name.

Vide Append.

1177. *Anno. Reg.*13.

The charge giuen for businesses in these Assises consisted but of very few points besides those felonies, and was especially *for taking Homage, and Ligeancie of all the Subiects of* England: *demolishing of Castles the Rights of the King, his Crowne and Eschequour.* The multitude of actions which followed in succeeding times, grew out of new transgressions and the increase of Law and Litigation, which was then but in the Cradle.

William King of Sicile matches with *Ioan* the Kings Daughter. *Rog. Houed. Vide* Append.

William King of Sicile sends and craues to haue *Ioan* the Kings daughter in marriage. Whereupon the King calls a Parliament, and by the vniuersall Councell of the Kingdome graunted his daughter to the King of Sicile; to whom shee was shortly after sent, and there honourably indowed with many Cities, and Castles, as may appeare by the Charter of that King.

But the great Match that was prouided for Earle *Iohn* became frustrate by the death of *Alice*, daughter to the Earle of Mautiana, and hee is mattied to the daughter of *William* Earle of Glocester by whom hee was to haue that Earldome. This *William* was sonne to *Robert* brother to *Maude* the Empresse.

The same yeare also hee marries *Elionor* another of his daughters to *Alphonso* King of Castile, and takes vp the controuersie betweene him, and his Vncle *Sanctio* King of Nauarre, about the detention of certaine bordering peeces, of each others Kingdome, both the Kings hauing referred the businesse to his arbitration.

1178. *Anno. Reg.*24.

Likewise the marriage which should haue beene betweene his sonne *Richard*, and *Alice* daughter to the French King (committed heretofore to his custodie) was againe treated on, and vrged hard, by the Popes Legat to bee consummated vpon paine of interdiction. But yet it was put off for that time, and both Kings notwithstanding concluded a perpetuall League, and amitie to ayde each other against all men, and to bee Enemies to each others Enemies. Besides they both vowed an expedition, to the Holy Land in person, which they liued not to performe.

The King of France vpon a daungerous sickenesse of his sonne *Philip*, vowes a visitation of the Sepulcher of *Thomas* the Martire of Canrerbury: and vpon licence, and safe conduct of the King of *England*, performes the same with great deuotion, and Rich presents. First, *offering vpon his Tombe, a massie Cup of Gold*, and after, *gaue, and confirmed by his Charter* 3000 *sixe hundred Sextaries of wine* for the Monkes annually to bee receiued at *Possi*, at the charge of the King of *France*: and beside, freed them from all Tolle, and Custome, for whatsoeuer they should buy in his Kingdome.

A Sextaries is eight English quarts, and 36 Sextaries is a Modius of wine. *Bud*

1179. *Anno. Reg.*25.

After hauing stayed there three dayes, hee returnes towardes *France*, conducted by the King of *England* to Douer. The Sonne recouers health, but the Father lost his in this iourney; for comming to Saint *Denise*, hee was taken with a Palsie, and liued not long after. The weakenesse of his Age, and disease mooued him presently to haue his sonne *Philippe* (beeing but fifteene yeates of Age) to bee Crowned King in his life time, which was done at *Reines*, *Anno* 1179.

1180. *Anno. Reg.*26.

Henry Duke of *Saxonie* (who had matried *Maude* daughter to King *Henry*) was expelled his Dutchie, and banished by the Emperour *Frederic* the third for seuen yeares; for

for detayning the reuenues which the Archbishop of Cologne had out of Saxonie; and refusing to come vnto tryall at the Imperiall Chamber, according to his faith, and promise made to the Emperour. So that hee was driuen to come (for succour with his Wife and Children) to his Father in Law, into England. Where hee remained three yeares, and vpon the comming of the Archbishoppe of *Cologne* to visit the Sepulcher of *Thomas* of Canterburie, meanes was wrought to restore him to his Dutchie: and a motion is made of marriage for *Richard* the Kings sonne, with the daughter of the Emperour *Frederic* (notwithstanding the contract made with *Alice* daughter to the King of France long before) but this last intention was made frustrate, by the death of the Emperours daughter.

King *Henry* sends his sonne *Iohn* to reside in Ireland, to the end (that the Maiestie of a Court, and the number of attendants which the same would draw thither) might both awe, and ciuilise that Countrey: but hee being accompaned with many gallants, young as himselfe, who scorning, and deriding the Irish (in regard of their rude habits, and fashions) wrought an ill effect. For it turned out three of their greatest Kings (Limmeric, Conact, and Corke) into open act of rebellion: *Gens enim hac, sicut & natio quaeis barbara, quanquam honorem nesciant, honorari tamen, supra modum affectant.* saith *Giraldus Cambrensis.*

The King sends after monies giuen to pious vses by Testators of the Clergie.

Now this faire time of peace, which King *Henry* enioyed gaue him leasure to seeke out all meanes to supply his coffers, wherein hee was very vigilant: and hearing of the great summes (which *Roger* Archbishoppe of Yorke, had giuen by his Testament to godly vses) sends Commissioners to finde out, and to seize the same to his owne vses, Alledging, *that the Archbishop had giuen Iudgement in his life time, that it was against Law, any Ecclesiasticall person should dispose any thing by will (vnlesse before hee were sicke)* and that himselfe had done contrary to his owne Decree. The Commissioners hauing found out, that *Hugh* Bishop of Durham had receiued of the Archbishop three hundred Markes of siluer to bee bestowed in those vses, demaund the same for the King. The Bishop replies, *that hauing receiued it from the hands of the Archbishoppe hee had according to his will, distributed the same amongst the Leprous, Blinde, and Lame; in repayring Churches, Bridges, and Hospitalls: so that who would haue it, must gather it vp againe of them.* Which answere so displeased the King, as (besides the seizing vpon the Castle of *Dures'm*) hee wrought this Bishop much vexation.

The Vacancie of Lincoln held 18 yeares to the Kings vse.

His meanes certaine (besides the reuenue of his Demesne, and the benefit of the Forests) were not then great in England; which caused him oftentimes in his necessities to bee bould with the Church, and to hold their benifices vacant: as hee did the Bishopricke of Lincolne eighteene yeares. Hee made a new Coyne in *England*, which was round, decryed the Olde, and put all the Coyners to great ransome for corrupting the olde money. And besides to saue his purse (in regard the continuall charge of Horse, and Armour was heauie vnto him) hee caused euerie mans Lands, and substance to bee rated for the furnishing thereof. And first beganne the same, in his Dominions beyond the Seas: ordayning, *That whosoeuer had a hundred pounds Aniouin money in goods, and chattles, should finde (a Horse, and all Militarie furniture thereunto: and whosoeuer had in chattle fortie, thirtie, or twentie pounds Aniouin money, should finde a Corslet, Head-peece, Launce and Sword: or Bow and Arrowes,* with a strict prohibitition, *that no man should sell, or pawne this Armour, but bee bound to leaue it when hee died to his next heire.* And this Order afterward, hee established in England, by consent of the State. The King of France, and the Earle of Flaunders by his example did the like in their Countreys.

Vide Append. 1181.

Anno. Reg. 17.

Great, and manifold were the expences of this mightie King, in respect of his entertainments, pensions, and rewards, hauing so wide an Estate and so many euer in his worke, both of his owne, and others who must alwaies be feed. And besides, oftentimes hee is faine to bribe the Popes Legates, in his businesse with the King of France, to haue them fauourable for his ends: to send many supplies, by their perswations, and for his owne reputation to the Holy warre.

Anno

Anno 1182 (saith *Walsingham*) hee releeued the necessitie of the *Ierosolomitans*, with two and forty thousand Markes of siluer, and fiue hundred Markes of gold, which was in money, seuen and forty thousand three hundred, thirty three pounds, sixe shillings eight pence. And when Pope *Lucius* distressed by the *Romans*, desired an ayde out of *England*. The King sent him a mighty summe of Gold and Siluer; in leauying whereof, the Clergie here dealt very circumspectly: for when the Popes *Nuncij* came to desire the same, they aduised the King; that according to his will, and honour hee himselfe should supplie the Popes occasion, as well for himselfe, as them: for that it was more tollerable, that their Lord, and King, should receiue from them, the returne of that ayde; then that the Popes *Nuncij* should; which might bee taken for a custome to the detriment of the Kingdome.

1182. *Anno. Reg.* 28. *Vide* Append. *Henry* 2. releeues Pope *Lucius* and the *Ierosolomitans*, with great summes of gold & siluer.

Now (about eight yeares) had the peace continued betweene the two Kings, Father and Sonne, when againe new flames of vnnaturall discord began to breake out; the occasion whereof as farre as can bee discouered (in the vncertaine passages of that time) we finde to be this.

Anno Reg. 29. After a great Christmas kept at *Cane* in *Normandy*, with his sonnes *Henry*, *Richard* and *Geffrey*, the Duke of Saxony with his Wife and Children, besides a great Nobility of all parts: The King willed King *Henry* his Sonne to take the Homages of his brother *Richard* Earle of *Poictou*, and *Greffrey* Earle of Brittaine. *Richchard* refuses to doe it (but vpon perswasion) being afterwards content; his brother refuses to take the same. Whereupon with great indignation *Richard* departs from his Fathers Court into *Poictou*: mans, and furnishes his Castles there. The King his brother followes by instigation of the Barons of *Poictou*, and *Aquitaine* who were fallen from *Richard*, and adhered to the young King (as men that vnderstood what would become of younger brothers Estates in such Dominions, where the elder brothers birthright, and powre, would carry all) and *Greffrey* Earle of Brittaine takes the King his brothers part, comes with forces to aide him.

1183. *Anno. Reg.* 29. Great festiuals ostentimes breake vp with great discontentments.

Richard sends for succour to his father, who with a powrefull Army (rather to constraine them to a peace, then to make warre) came downe into *Poictou*, where againe his three sonnes after the debatement of their grieuances swore to obey, and serue their Father, and to hold perpetuall peace among themselues. And for the farther ratification of this Concord, they meete all at *Mirabell*, where *Henry* the sonne, desires, that the Barons of *Poictou*, and *Aquitane* (whom he had sworne to defend against his brother *Richard*) might be there at the concluding this peace, and to be pardoned for any former act committed. Which request is granted, and *Geffrey* Earle of *Brittaine* sent to bring the Barons thither. But the Barons (holding this peace, either not safe, or not profitable) so worke, as they winne the messenger to take their part against the Father, and keepe him with them.

Henry and his sonnes accorded.

Henry the sonne notwithstanding, continues to mediate still for the Barons, and to get his Father, and brother *Richard* to receiue them into grace. And vndertaking to bring in both them, and his brother *Geffrey*; is permitted by the Father to go treat with them at *Limoges*, whither also, by another way, and with small company; it was agreed the Father should come, which he did; but his approach was met with arrowes so dangerously shot at his person, as the next man to him was slaine, and himselfe with his sonne *Richard*, forced to retire from the place. And yet afterwards desirous out of a fatherly affection to haue conference with his sonnes for the quiet ending of this businesse (vpon their assurance of his safety) he enters into the Citty: when againe from the Castle is shot a barbed arrow, which had tooke him directly on the breast, had not his horse, by the sudden lifting up his head receiued it in the forehead. Which act his sonnes neuer sought to find out and punish, but still, vnderhand held amity with the Barons. At length, notwithstanding King *Henry* the sonne comes to the Father, and protests, that vnlesse the Barons would come and yeeld themselues at the Kings feete, he would vtterly renounce them. And after, hauing againe (vpon his Fathers promise of pardon and peace) dealt with them: and finding as he auowed their obstinacie, made shew to forsake their party, and returnes to his Father with great submission, deliuering

liuering vp vnto him his horse and Armor in assurance thereof.

But many dayes he spent not with him, when againe (either for the intended reuenge he found his Father meant to prosecute against the Barons) whose protection hauing vndertaken, he held himselfe in his honour, engaged to preserue: or by the working of some mutinous ministers about him, whose element was not peace: he againe enters Oath and League with them. But therein finding his power short of his will, and desperate of all successe in his courses; he suddenly breakes out into an extreame passion before his Father, fals prostrate at the Shrine of Saint *Martiall*, and vowes presently to take vpon him the Crosse, and to giue ouer all worldly businesse beside.

The inconstancy of King *Henry* the son.

His vowe.

With which strange and sudden passion, the Father much moued, besought his son with teares to alter that rash resolution, and to tell him truly, whither indignation, or religion induced him thereunto. The Sonne protests, that it was meerely for the remission of his sinnes, committed against his person. And vnlesse his Father would now giue him leaue (without which he could not go) he would there instantly kill himselfe in his presence. The Father (after hauing vsed all meanes to diswade him, and finding him still obstinate) sayd vnto him, *Sonne, Gods will be done, and yours: for your furnishing I will take such order as shall befit your Estate.*

His resolution.

The sonne (whilst the Fathers passion had made him tender) wrought thereupon, and besought him, that he would deale mercifully with those of the Castle of *Limoges*, the Barons of *Aquitaine*, and pardon them. To which, the Father in the end (though vnwillingly) yeelds, so that, they would put in their pledges for securing their fidelity, and the peace, which they seemed content to do. But vpon the deliuery, and receiuing of these pledges new ryots were committed by such as could not indure the peace (which is neuer faithfull, but where men are voluntarily pacified) and these young Princes againe take part with their Confederates, and are made the heads of rebellion, committing rapin, and sacrelidge to supply their necessities, & feed their followers. And in the end the young King hauing much strugled in vaine, through griefe, and vexation of spirit (which caused the distemprature of body) fell into a burning feuer with a fluxe, whereof, within few dayes he died. A Prince of excellent parts, who was first cast away by his Fathers indulgence, and after by his rigor; not suffering him to be what himselfe had made him, neither got he so much by his Coronation as to haue a name *in the Catalogue* of the Kings of *England*.

His request for the Barons of *Aquitaine*.

His death.

The sorrow of the Father (although it be sayd to be great) hindred not his reuenge vpon the Barons of *Aquitaine*; whom he now most eagerly persecuted, seazed on their Castles, and rased to the ground that of *Limoges*.

Geffrey vpon his submission, is receiued into grace, and the yeare after died at *Paris*: hauing (in a conflict) bene troden vnder horses feete, and miserably crushed: so that, halfe the male issue wherein this King was vnfortunate, he saw extinct before him, and that by deaths as violent; as were their dispositions. The other two, who suruiued him, were no lesse miserable in their ends.

Earle *Geffreys* submission and death.

Now the young King of *France*, *Phillip* the second (in whose fate it was, to do more then euer his father could effect, vpon the death of *Henry* the sonne) requires the deliuery of the Countrey of *Vexin*, which was giuen in dowre with his Sister *Margaret*, but the King of *England* (not apt to let go any thing of what he had in possession) was content to pay yearely to the Queene dowager 17050. pounds *Aniouin*. And the more to hold faire with this young King, whose spirit, he saw, grew great, and actiue, and with whom he was like to haue much to do, did homage vnto him, for all he held in *Fraunce*, which he neuer did to the Father, being the first discent of Maiestie, he euer made to any secular power. And beside, tooke his part against *Phillip* Earle of *Flanders*, who opposed against him, and was in those dayes a Prince of mighty power, and had euer stood fast vnto King *Lewes* the father. But now *Phillip* the sonne otherwise led, or affectioned, quarrels with him, and demaunds the Countrey of *Vermendois*, as appertaining to the Crowne of *Fraunce*: and withall, vpon allegation of consanguinity, repudiates his wife, Neece to this Earle of *Flanders*, giuen vnto him by his Fathers choice

1184. *Anno.* *Reg.* 30.

Henry the second doth homage to *Phillip* King of *France*.

choyce a little before his death. The Earle followed by *Odo* Earle of *Borgogne*, the Earles of *Champagne*, *Hainalt*, *Namur* Saint *Pol* and others, warres vpon the King of *France*, and commits great spoyles within his territories, so that hee was faine in the end to compound with him to his disaduantage. After this, the Kings of *England*, and *France*, meete betweene *Gisors*, and *Tri*; where the King of *England* sweares to deliuer *Alise*, vnto *Richard* his sonne. And the King of *France* her brother graunts her in dowre, the Countrey of Velxin, which *Margueret* his other Sister had before.

The Earle of Flanders compels the King of France to compound.

But these tyes held them not long together, for the yong King of *France* so wrought with *Richard*, as hee drew him from his Fathers obedience, and they lined together in that amitie, as on bed and boord, is sayd, to haue serued them, both which so incalosed the olde King, as he called home his sonne and before his Bishops and Nobility, caused him to sweare vpon the Euangelists, to obserue fealty vnto him, against all persons whatsoeuer, which hauing done; and ready to passe ouer into *England*, hee is informed of the great preparation made by the King of *France*, who gaue out that hee would spoyle, and ransacke both *Normandie*, and the rest of the Kings of *Englands* territories in *France*; vnlesse he would presently deliuer vp his Sister *Alice* vnto *Richard*, or render *Gisors*, and the Countrey of *Velxin* into his hands. Whereupon the King returnes backe, and comes againe to a parle betweene *Gisors* and *Try*. Where, the Archbishop of *Tyre* (sent from the East to call vp ayde, for the Holy warre) did with that powre of perswation so vrge his message, as it let out all the humour of priuate rancor and contention, betweene these two great Kings, altred their whole Councells, their pretentions, their designes: turned them wholly to vndertake in person this laborious action, and resolue to leaue their Kingdomes, their pleasures, and all the things of glorie they had at home, to prosecute the same, through all the distempratures of climes, and difficulties of passages, whereunto that voyage was obnoxious: so that now, no other thing was thought or talked on, but onely preparations, and furnishments for this businesse.

1185. Anno. Reg. 31.

The Kings of England and France accorded, and prepare for the holy war.

And to distinguish their people, and followers (who all stroue which should bee most forward) it was ordred that they who followed the King of *England*, should weare a white Crosse: *France* a red: and *Flaunders* a greene. And for a further ingagement in the businesse, the King of *England* writes to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, a most comfortable and pious letter: in the end whereof he hath these words. *Amongst other Princes I and my Sonne, reiecting the glory of this world, and dispising all the pleasures thereof in proper person, with all our strength, will, God willing visit you shortly.*

Then to rayse money to defray this great enterprise, it was ordained by the two Kings, their Archbishops, Bishops Earles and others in *France*, that all whosoeuer as well Clerke as Lay (sauing such as went the voyage) should pay the tenth of all their reuenues of that yeare, and the tenth of all their Moueables and Chattles; as well in gold as siluer. And many excellent orders were made for restraynt of licentiousnesse both in apparell, and manners as was fitting for the vndertakers of so ciuile and deuout an action.

The King of *England* hauing layde this imposition vpon all his Dominions in *France*, comes ouer, calls a Councell of his Bishops, Abbots, Earles, Barons, both of the Clergie, and Layty at *Gayntington*, and by their consents imposes the same taxation vpon his Subiects of *England*. *Sub Eleemosinæ titulo vitium rapacitatis includens*, sayth *Walsingham*, and presently sends foorth his Officers into euery Shire to collect the same according as it was done in *France*. But of euery Citie in *England*, he caused a choice to be made of the richest men: as in *London* of two hundred, in Yorke a hundred, and so according to the proportion of the rest: and caused all these, at a certaine time and place to appeare before him; of whom he tooke the tenth of all their Moueables, by the estimation of credible men which knew their Estates: such as refused hee imprisoned till they had payde it, of which example, and exaction, we must onely hold Pietie guilty, otherwise those times had not yeelded it.

1186. Anno. Reg. 33.

The King sends likewise *Hugh* Bishop of *Duresme*, with other Commissioners, to *William*

Prouision by king *Henry* in *England*.

William King of *Scots* to collect the tenthes in his Countrey, which he would not permit, but offered to giue the King of *England* fiue thousand Markes of siluer for those tenthes, and the Castle which he claimed, but the King of *England* refused the same.

1187. *Anno.* *Reg.* 33.

Whilst these preparations were in hand, and the mony collecting, a quarrell arises betweene *Richard* Earle of *Poictou*, and *Raymond* Earle of *Tholouse* vpon this occasion. The Earle of *Tholouse* by the perswasion of one *Peter Suillar*, had taken certaine Merchants of *Aquitaine*, and vsed them hardly. The Earle of *Poictou* surprises this *Peter*, imprisons him, and would not suffer the Earle of *Tholouse* to redeeme him, vpon any condition. Whereupon, the Earle imprisons two Gentlemen seruants of the King of *Englands*, *Robert*, and *Raph Poer*, trauelling through his Countrey (as Pilgrimes) from S. *Iames de Compostella*, which Earle *Richard* tooke so ill, as he enters into the Earles countrey with an Army (prepared for a better act) wastes it with fire and sword, besieges and takes his Castles about *Tholouse*. The King of *France* (vpon the lamentable complaint of the *Tholousians*) sends to the King of *England* to vnderstand, whether his son *Richard* did these things by his will and Councell. The King of *England* answers, *That he neither willed, nor counselled him thereunto, and that his sonne sent him word (by the Archbishop of* Dublin*) that he did nothing, but by the consent of the King of* France. Who (not satisfied with this answer) enters presently into *Bery* with his Army, seases vpon the Countrey; takes in diuers Castles of the King of *Englands*, who makes himselfe ready to recouer the same. And thus that great intended enterprise, vndertaken with such feruor, became dasht, and ouerthrowne, at the very time, they appointed to haue set forward.

A meane quarrell dashes and diuerts the great preparation for the holy warre, and layes it vpon the selfe kingdomes.

1188. *Anno.* *Reg.* 34.

All the meanes the Pope could vse by his Legates, nor all the perswasions of other Princes might preuaile, to reconsile these two inraged Kings, though diuerse enteruiewes were procured, diuerse ouertures propounded, yet none tooke effect; they euer depart more incensed then they met: in so much as at length, the King of *France*, in a rage, cut downe the great Elme (betweene *Gisors* and *Try*) vnder which, the Kings of *France*, and Dukes of *Normandy* were euer vsed to parle, and swore, *There should be no more meetings in that place*. But yet after this, they were brought to another parle elsewhere, and therein the Popes Legate threatned to interdict the King of *France*, vnlesse he made peace with the King of *England*. The King of *France* told him, that he feared not his sentence, being grounded vpon no equity, and that it appertained not to the Church of *Rome*, by sentence, or otherwise, to chastice the Kingdome, or King of *France*, vndertaking to reuenge the demerits, of the rebellious, that dishonored his Crowne; and flatly told the Cardinall, *That he smelled of the Sterlings of England.*

The King of *France* cuts downe the most eminent *Elme* of Princely parley.

This enteruiew, wrought a worse effect then all thereof: for here the King of *England* (absolutely) refuses to render *Alice* to his sonne *Richard*, but offered to the King of *France*, to giue her to his sonne *Iohn*, with larger conditions, then should be granted with the other: which so much alienated the heart of his sonne *Richard*, as he becomes wholly Liegeman to the King of *France*, did homage vnto him for *Aquitaine*, and they both ioyne their forces against the father.

Earle *Richard* (with the King of *France*) combine against his father king *Henry* 2.

And here now comes this mighty King of *England* (the greatest of all the Christian world in his time, or that the Kingdome euer saw) to fall quite asunder; forsaken both of his subiects, and himselfe, letting downe his heart, to yeeld to any conditions whatsoeuer: he who neuer saw feare (but in the backe of his enemies) leaues now the defence of *Mans*, and flies away with seuen hundreth men (hauing promised the Citty, neuer to giue it ouer, in regard his Father was there buried, and himselfe borne) and afterward, comes to his last parle, with the King of *France*, betweene *Turwin*, and *Arras*: where at their first meeting (no man suspecting the wrath) a thunder-bolt, with so terrible a cracke lighted iust betweene them, as it parted their conference in a confused manner for that time.

1189. *Anno.* *Reg.* 35.

Within a while after, they came together againe, when suddenly began as fearefull a thunder as the former: which so amased the King of *England* (as he had falne off from his horse) had he not beene supported by those about him. And in this sort, beganne the Proem of that Treaty, wherein, the King of *England* yeelds to all whatsoeuer conditions,

ditions, the King of *France* required, did him homage againe for all his dominions on that side (both kings hauing at the beginning of this warre, renounced their mutuall obligation in that kind) renders vp *Alice* for whom he had beene so much loden with scandall and turmoyle, vpon condition, she should be giuen in marriage to his sonne *Richard* at his returne from the holy warre; and in the meane time to remaine in the custody of any one of fiue whom *Richard* would nominate: grants that fealty be giuen vnto him of all his Dominions, and pardons all his partakers. Besides couenants *to pay the King of* France 20000 *Markes of siluer for dammage done during these last warres. And that if he should not performe these Articles, his Barons should sweare to renounce him, and betake them to the part of the King of* France, *and Earle* Richard. *And for more caution, hee yeeldes to deliuer vp the Citties of* Mans *and* Tureyn, *with diuerse Castles into their Hands, &c.*

And here was an end of this businesse, and within three daies after, of this kings life: whose heart, not made of that temper to bow, burst with the weight of a declining fortune. Some few howers before he died he saw a list of their names who conspired with the King of *France*, and Earle *Richard* against him: and finding therein his sonne *Iohn* to be the first, fals into a grieuous passion, both cursing his sonnes, and the day wherein himselfe was borne: and in that distemprature departs this world, which so often himselfe had distempered; hauing reigned 39. yeares, 7. moneths, and 5. dayes. His death.

His sonne *Richard* approching the Corps, as it was carrying to be interred (adorned according to the manner of Kings with all royall ornaments open faced) the bloud gushed out of the nostrils of the dead (a signe, vsually noted, of guiltinesse) as if Nature yet after death, retained some intelligence in the veines, to giue notice of wrong, and checke the malice of an vnnaturall offender: at which sight, *Richard* surprised with horror, is sayd to haue burst out into extreame lamentations. 1189. *Anno.* *Reg.* 35.

He had issue by his wife *Elianor*, foure sonnes, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Geffrey* and *Iohn*, besides two other, *William* the eldest, and *Phillip* the youngest, but one, died young. Also three daughters; *Maude* married to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*. *Elianor*, the wife of *Alfonso* the eighth of that name king of *Castile*. *Ioan* giuen in marriage vnto *William* king of *Sicile*. He had also two naturall sonnes, by *Rosamund* daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clifford*, *William*, surnamed *Longespee*, in *English Long Sword*, and *Geffrey* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, who after fiue yeares banishment in his brother King *Iohns* time died, *Anno* 1213. His Issue. *Vide Io. Speed.*

The first sonne *William* surnamed *Longespee*, Earle of *Salisbury* (in right of *Ela* his wife; daughter and heire of *William* Earle of that County, sonne of Earle *Patricke*) had issue *William* Earle of *Salisbury*, & *Stephen* Earle of *Vlster*. *Ela* Countisse of *Warwick*, *Ida* Lady *Beauchampe* of *Bedford* and *Isabell* Lady *Vesey* His Sonne, Earle *William* the second, had Earle *William* the third, Father of *Margaret* wife of *Henry Lacie* Earle of *Lincolne*.

It is said King *Henry* had also a third naturall Sonne called *Morgan* (by the wife of one *Rodulph Bloeth* or *Blewet* a Knight, hee liued to be *Prouost* of *Beuerley*, and to be elected to the Bishopricke of *Duresme*: and comming to *Rome* for a dispensation (because his bastardy made him otherwise vncapeable) the *Pope* willed him to professe himselfe *Blewets* lawfull sonne, and not the Kings Naturall, promising to consecrate him on that condition, but he (vsing the aduise of one *William Lane* his Clerke) told the *Pope*, that for no worldly promotion he would renounce his Father, or deny himselfe to be of blood Royall.

The ende of the Life, and Raigne, of Henry the second.

The

The Life, and raigne, of Richard the first.

He began his raigne the 6. of Iuly, aged 35.

1189.

Anno.

Reg. 1.

RICHARD surnamed *Cœure de Lion* borne at *Oxford* succeeding his Father, first seizes vpon his Treasure in France, being in the hands of *Stephan Thurnham* Seneschall of Normandy, whom he imprisons with fetters, and manacles to extort the vttermost thereof. And then repayres to Roan, where, by *Walter* the Atchbishop hee is guirt with the sword of the Dutchy of Normandie, takes fealty both of the Clergie and Lay, and then goes to Parle and compose his businesse with the King of France, which hee did by money, and obtayned restitution of all such peeces as had beene gotten from his Father in the time of the late warres. Besides for his better strength hee giues in marriage *Maude* his Neece daughter of the Duke of Saxonie to *Geffrey* sonne to the Earle of Perch.

The slaughter of the Iewes at the Coronation.

During this stay and setling of his affaires in France, Queene *Elianor* his Mother, freed from her imprisonment (which shee had endured twelue yeares) hath powre to dispose of the businesse of England, which especially shee imployed in preparing the affections of the people *by pardons, and releeuement of oppressions*, and then meetes her sonne at Winchester. Where (besides his Fathers treasure which was 900000 pounds in gold, and siluer; besides plate Iewels and pretious stones) there fell vnto him by the death of *Geffrey Ridle* Bishop of *Ely* dying intestate 3060 Markes of Siluer, and 205 of Gold, which came well to deftay the charge of his Coronation, celebrated the third day of September 1189 at *Westminster*, and imbrued with the miserable slaughter of the Iewes inhabiting in, and about the Citie of London, who comming to offer their presents, as an afflicted people, in a strange Country, to a new King, in hope to get his fauour, were set vpon by the multitude, and many lost both their liues and substance. The example of *London* wrought the like mischiefe vpon the *Iewes* in the Townes of *Norwich*, Saint *Edmondsbury*, *Lincoln*, *Stamford* and *Linne*.

All this great Treasure left to this King, was not thought sufficient for this intended action of the Holy watre (which was still on foote) but that all other waies were deuised to raise more money, and the King sells much Land of the Crowne, both to the Clergie and others. *Godfrey de Lucy* Bishoppe of Winchester bought two Mannors *Weregraue*, and *Menes*. The Abbot of Saint *Edmondsbury* the Mannor of *Mildhall* for one thousand Markes of siluer. The Bishop of *Duresme* the Mannor of *Sadborough* with the dignity pallitinate of his whole Prouince, which occasioned the King iestingly to say what a cunning workeman he was that *could make of an olde Bishoppe a new Earle.* Besides hee grants to *William* King of *Scots* the Castles of *Berwike* and *Roxborough* for 10000 Markes, and releaseth him of those couenants made and confirmed by his Charter vnto King *Henry* the second as extorted from him being then his prisoner, reseruing vnto himselfe onely such rights, as had beene and were to bee performed, by his brother *Malcolin* to his Ancestors the kings of *England.*

Moreouer pretending to haue lost his Signet, made a new, and proclamation that *whosoeuer would safely enioy, what vnder the former Signet was graunted, should come to haue it confirmed by the new*, whereby hee raised great summes of money to the griefe of his subiects. Then procures he a powre from the Pope, that whosoeuer himselfe pleased to dismisse from the iourney, and leaue at home, should bee free from taking the Crosse: and this likewise got him great Treasure which was leuied with much expedition by reason the king of *France*, in Nouember, after the Coronation sent the Earle of *Perch*, with other Commissioners to signifie to king *Richard* how in a generall Assembly at *Paris*, he had solemnly sworne vpon the Euangelists to bee ready at *Tours*, with all the Princes and people of his kingdome, who had vndertaken the Crosse, presently vpon Easter next following, thence to set forward for the Holy Land. And for the assurance, and testimony thereof, hee sends the Charter of this Deede vnto the king of *England*, requiring him and his Nobilitie, vnder their hands

to

to asure him in like sort, to be ready at the same time, and place, which was in like maner concluded at a generall Councell held at *London*. And in December (hauing onely staed but foure monthes in *England* after his Cotonation) this King departs into *Normadie*, keepes his Chtistmas at *Rouen*, and ptesently after hath a parle with the King of *Fince* at *Reimes*, where by Oath and writing vnder their hands and seales, with the fch giuen by all their Nobility on both sides, is confirmed a most strict Peace and hion betwixt both Kings, for the ptesetuation of each other and their Estates, with ie orders concluded for theit ioutney. Which done; the King of *England* sends for Queene *Elionor* his mother, his brother *Iohn*, the Atchbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Duresme*, *Norwich*, *Bath*, *Salisbury*, *Ely*, *Chester*, and others, which came vnto him to *Rouen*: where hee commits the especiall charge of his Kingdome to *William Longshamp* Bishoppe of *Ely*; vnder the Title of Chiefe Iustice of *England*, and giues him one of his Seales and the Custodie of the Towre of *London*: and confets vpon *Hugh* Bishop of *Duresme* the Iustice-ship of the Notth from *Humber* to *Scotland*, with the keeping of *Windsor* Castle, which after gaue occasion of dissention, to these two ambitious Prelates impatient of each others greatnesse, *Hugh Bardolph*, *William Marshall*, *Geffrey Fitz Peter*, and *William Brewer* are ioyned in commission with the Bishop of *Ely*.

Vide Append. The Kings departure out of England toward the Holy warre.

And least his brother *Iohn* (whose spirit hee well vnderstood) might in *England* worke vpon the aduantage of his absence, hee fitst caused him to take an Oath *not to come within this Kingdome for the space of three yeares next following*. Which after, vpon better consideration, hee released, leauing him to his libertie and natural respect. But hereby hauing giuen him first a wound by his distrust, his after regard could neuer heale it vp again, nor all the Honours and State bestowed on him, keepe him within the limmits of obedience.

For, this suspition of his Faith shewed him rather the waie to breake, then retaine it; whensoeuer occasion were offered: and the greater meanes hee had bestowed on him to make him content, did but arme him with greater powre for his designes. For this Earle *Iohn* had conferred vpon him in England the Earledomes of *Cornwall*, *Dorcet*, *Sommerset*, *Nottingham*, *Darby*, *Lancaster*, and by the martiage with *Isabell*, Daughter to the Earle of *Glocester*, had likewise that Earledome, moreouer the Castles of *Marlborow* and *Lutgarsall*, the Honouts of *Wallingford*, *Tichill*, and *Eye*; to the valew of foure thousand Markes *per annum*, besides the great commaunds hee held thereby: which mighty Estate was not a meanes to satisfie but increase his desires, and make him mote daungerous at home.

The great Estate left to Earle *Iohn*.

Then the more to strengthen the teputation of his Viceroy the Bishop of *Ely*, the King gets the Pope to make him his Legate of all *England* and *Scotland*; and to the end his Gouernment might not bee disturbed through the emulation of another, hee confines the elect Archbishoppe of *Yorke* (his base brother, whose turbulency hee doubted) to remaine in *Normandie* till his returne, and takes his Oath to performe the same.

Hauing thus otdered his affaires hee sends backe into *England* this Great Bishop, furnished with as great and absolute a powre as hee could giue him, to prouide necessaties for his intended iourney. Wherein to please the King, hee offended the people, and committed great exactions, *Clerum & populum opprimebat, confundens fasque nefasque*, saith *Houeden*. Hee tooke of euery Cittie in *England* two Palfryes, and two other Horses of seruice, and of euerie Abbay one of each, likewise of euety Mannor of the Kings, one of each for this seruice. And to shewe what hee would prooue, hee tooke the Castle of *Windsor* from the Bishoppe of *Duresme*, and confined him within his Towne of *Howedon*, questions his Authoritie, and workes him much vexation, and for all his meanes made to the King, ouertopt him.

Exactions by the Viceroy.

The King takes otder for a Nauie to conuay people and prouision to the Holy land, and commits the charge thereof to the Archbishop of *Auxere*, and the Bishop of *Bayon*,

Bayon, *Robert de Sabul*; *Richard Canuile*, which done, both Kings the latter end of *Iune*, with their powres together take their iourney to *Lyons*; where (their numbers growing so great, as bred many incomberments, and distemprings betweene them tions) they part companies: the King of *France* takes the way of *Genoua* by Land, he King of *England* of *Merseilles*, where, after he had stayed eight daies, expecting in vaie the comming about of his Nauie with held by tempest, hee was forced to hire twenie Gallies, and ten other great vessels, to transport him into the Isle of *Sicilia*. The Kin of *France* takes shipping at *Genoua*, and by tempest was driuen to land in the same Isl and arriued there before the King of *England*: where those mighty companies of bot these powrefull Kings fell fowle on each other, and themselues taking part with thei people enter in quarrell and rancor, so that being of equall powre and stomacke, and a like emulous of honour and reuenge, they began to shew what successe their enterpris was likelie to yeeld. The King of *France* repayring his wracked Nauie and the King of *Englands* long staying for his, forced them both to Winter in *Sicilia*, to the great pesture and disturbance of that people, themselues and theirs.

The Kings quarrell in the Isle of Sicile.

William late king of *Sicile* who married *Ioane*, sister to the King of *England*, was dead (which made the intertaynment of the *English* there, the worse) and *Tancredi* base sonne of *Roger*, grandfather to that *William*, was inuested in the kingdome, contrary to the will of the late King (dying without yssue) and the fidelitie of the people sworne to *Constantia* the lawfull daughter of the sayd *Roger*, married to *Henry* King of *Almaine*, sonne to the Emperour *Frederic Barbarossa*, by which occasion *Tancredi* was forced to vse all meanes to hold what hee had gotten by strong hand, and had much to doe against the Emperour and his sonne *Henry*. The King of *England* after great contention with him, to make the conditions of his sisters dowre the better, enters into league with *Tancredi* against all men to preserue his Estate, and gets in conclusion 20000 Ounces of Gold for his Sisters dowre, and 20000 more, vpon a match to bee made betweene *Arthur* Earle of *Brittaine*, sonne to *Geffrey* his next brother (who was to succeed him in the Crowne of *England*, if himselfe died without yssue) and the daughter of *Tancredi*.

The Kings reconciled.

At the opening of the Spring (both kings hauing beene reconciled, and new Articles of Peace and concord, signed, and sworne) the king of *France* sets first forward to the Holy Land: but the king of *England* stayes in *Sicile* vntill Whitsontide after. And during his abode (which might therefore bee the longer) his Mother Queene *Elionor* (who in her youth had well knowne the trauaile of the East) came vnto him, bringing with her *Berenguela*, daughter to the king of *Nauarre*, who was there fianced vnto him. Which done, Queene *Elionor* departs home by the way of *Rome*, and the young Lady with the Queene Dowager of *Sicile* take their iourney with the king; who sets foorth with a hundred and thirty ships, and fifty Gallies, and was by tempest driuen to the Isle of *Cyprus*, where, being denied landing, he assailes the Isle on all sides, subdues it, places his Garnisons therein, and commits the custody of the same to *Richard de Canuile*, and *Robert de Turnham*, taking halfe the goods of the Inhabitants from them; in Lieu whereof hee confirmed the vse of their owne Lawes. And here our Histories say, hee married the Lady *Berenguela*, and caused her to bee Crowned Queene.

Berenguela fianced to King *Richard*.

These mischiefes suffred these two famous Isles of Christendome in the passage of these mighty Princes against Pagans, who peraduenture would haue as well vsed them for their goods, and treasure as these did, *but Armies and powre know no inferior friends*; it was their Fate so to lie in the way of great attempters, who, though in the cause of Piety, would not sticke to doe any iniustice.

From hence passes this famous king to the Holy Land, with the spoyles, and treasure of three noble rich Islands, *England*, *Sicile*, and *Cyprus* (besides what *Normandy* and *Guien* could furnish him with all) and there consumes that huge collected masse, euen as violently as it was gotten.

Heere for the better vnderstanding this businesse, it is not amisse to deliuer in what sort stood the Estate of those affaires in Asia, which so much troubled these

these mighty Princes, and drew them from the vtmost bounds of Europe, thus to aduenture themselues and consume their Estates.

It was now foure score and eight yeares since *Godfrey* of *Bologne*, Prince of *Lorraine*, with his company recouered the Citie of *Ierusalem*, with the Countrey of *Palestina*, and a great part of *Siria*, out of the hands of the *Sarazins*, obtayned the Kingdome thereof, and was Crowned with a Crowne of Thornes in example of our Sauiour, raigned one yeare, died, and left to succeed him his brother *Baldwin*, who gouerned eighteene yeares, and left the Crowne to another of that name, *Balwin de Burgo*, who raigned thirteene yeares, and left a daughter, and his Kingdome in dissention. *Fulke* Earle of *Anion* marries this daughter, and enioyes the Kingdome eleuen yeares, and left two young sonnes, *Baldwin*, and *Almerique*: *Balwin* raignes foure and twenty yeares, and after him his brother *Almerique* twelue, and leaues *Baldwin* his sonne to succeed him, who being sickly, and dispayring of yssue, made *Baldwin* his Nephew, sonne to the Marquesse of *Monferrato* and *Sibilla* his Sister, his successor: and commits the charge of him, with the administration of the Kingdome to *Raymond* Earle of *Tripoly*, whom *Guy de Lusignan* who had married *Sibilla* (the Widdow of *Monferrato*) put from that charge, and vsurped the Gouerment, and at length the Kingdome, not without suspition of poysoning the young King. *Raymond* making warre vpon him, *Lusignan* drawes in *Sultan Saladin* of Egipt to his ayde, who glad of that occasion, to augment his owne State destroyed them both, with their Kingdome, and wonne the Citie of *Ptolomeide*, *Asoto*, *Berytho*, *Ascalon*, and after one months siege, the Citie of *Ierusalem* foure score and eight yeares after it had beene conquered by *Godfrey*.

The State of Palestina.

Now to recouer this confounded State, come these two Great Kings from a farre and a different clyme with an Army composed of seuerall Nations, and seuerall humours, English, French, Italians and Germaines; against a mightie Prince of an vnited powre, within his owne ayre, neere at home, bred and made by the sword, inured to victories, acquainted with the sights, and forces of the Christians, and possessed almost of all the best peeces of that Countrey.

And heere they sit downe before the City of *Acon*, defended by the powre of *Saladin*, which had beene before besieged by the Christians the space of three yeares; and had cost the liues of many worthy Princes, and great personages, whose names are deliuered by our Writers, amongst whom I will remember these few of especiall note: *Conradus* Duke of *Suenia*, sonne of *Frederic* the Emperour (which *Frederic* was also drowned comming thither) with the Earles of *Perch*, *Puntif*, and olde *Theobald* Earle of *Bloys*, that famous *Stickler* betweene the Kings of *England* and *France*: *Stephen* Earle of *Sancerre*: the Earle of *Vandosme*, *Bertoldus* a Duke of *Germany*, *Roger* and *Ioselin* Earles of *Apulia* &c. And lastly *Phillip* Earle of *Flaunders*: and of our Nation *Baldwin* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*. *Robert* Earle of *Leicester*, *Ralph de Glanuile*, Chiefe Iustice of *England*, *Richard de Clare*; *Walter de Kime*, &c. And notwithstanding all the forces of these two Kings, they held out foure monthes after, and then rendred themselues vpon composition.

The Kings of England and France besiege Acon.

At their entring into the Citie, the Ensignes of *Leopold* Duke of *Austrich*, beeing planted on the walles, were with great scorne taken downe by the commandement of King *Richard*, and those of the two Kings erected, which bred great rancour, and was afterward the occasion of much mischiefe to the king of *England*. Besides, during this siege diuers stings, were ministred, or taken of displeasure, and malice betweene the two kings, apt to bee set on fire by the least touches of conceipt.

The king of *France* full of disdaine, for the reiection of his Sister, and the marriage of the king of *England* with *Berenguela*; besides competition of honour (which their equality was subiect vnto) made any iot of the least disproportion thereof, a wounde without cure: And daylie occasions in so great hearts fell out to worke the same. The Article *of equall deuiding their gaines in this voyage*, concluded betweene them is questioned. The king of France, *claimes halfe the Isle of Cyprus*, the king of England, *halfe*

halfe the Treasure and goods of the Earle of Flaunders, whereon the King of *France* had seised, and therein, neither is satisfied. Then are there two pretenders to the Crowne of *Ierusalem*, *Guy* of *Lusignan*, and *Conrade*, *Marquis* of *Monferrato*: *Guy* pleads the possession thereof, which he had by his wife *Sibilla*: the King of *England* takes part with *Guy*: the King of *France*, with *Conrade*: And with these differences are they kept in imbroylements, and continually distempered, in so much, as by their owne heats, and the contagion of the Country, they fell into a most daungerous sicknesse, that cost them both, their haire, being more then they got by the voyage.

The Kings of England and France dangerously sicke.

But being recouered, the King of France had no longer will to stay there, where hee saw no more likelihood of honour or profit: and at home, hee knew was better good to be done with lesse danger, and the rather by the death of the Earle of Flaunders, whose state lay so neere, as it tooke vp part of his; whereof he had a purpose to abridge his successor, and therefore, craues leaue of the King of England *(for without leaue of each other it was couenanted, neither of them should depart)* to returne home, which King *Richard* was hardly wonne to grant, in respect he knew the daunger, it might worke him, in his absence, to let such an offended Lyon loose.

The King of France departs from the Holy warre.

But in the end through the earnest sollicitation of the King of *France*, and his assurance) confirmed by Oath not to doe any thing offensiue to his Dominions in *France*, during his absence, he yeelds thereunto. And so departs this great Prince leauing the Earle of *Borgogne* Lieutenant of his forces: And King *Richard* betakes him to the siege of *Ascalon*: writes inuectiue letters against the King of *France* for leauing him: who likewise defames King *Richard*, amongst his neighbours at home. And it may be doubted whether the periurie of these two Kings, did not adde more to their sinne, then the action they vndertooke for the remission thereof could take away, for that *a good worke impiously managed, meretts no more then an ill.*

Tenmoneths the King of *England* stayes behind in these parts, consuming both his men and treasure without any great successe, though with much noble valor and exceeding courage, finding euer great peruersuesse in the Earle of *Borgogne*, who according to his maisters instructions shewed no great desire to aduance the action, where another must carry the honour: but willing alwaies to returne home (pretending his want) drew backe when any businesse of importance was to bee done; and at length falls sicke, and dies at *Acon*.

Conrade murthered.

Conrade, who was so much fauoured by the King of *France*, in his title for that Kingdome, was murthered by two *Assassini* whereof the King of *England* was (but very wrongfullie) taxed, and the Earle of *Champagne*, marrying his Widdow, Sister to Queene *Sibilla*, was by King *Richard* preferred to the Crowne of *Ierusalem* and *Guy* of *Lusignan* (the other pretender) made King of *Cyprus*, and so both contented. During this businesse abroade in the East, the state of *England* suffied much at home vnder the gouernment of *Longshamp*, who vsurping the whole authority to himselfe without communicating any thing either with the Nobility, or the rest of the Commissioners ioyned with him, did what hee listed, and with that insolencie carried himselfe, as hee incurred the hatred of the whole Kingdome, both Clergie and Lay. His traine was said to be so great, and the pompe of attendants such, as where hee lay in any religious house but one night, 3 yeares reuenues would scarce suffice to recouer the charge. Besides being a stranger himselfe, and vsing only French men about him made his courses the more intollerable to the English: in so much, as at length the whole Clergie, and Nobility oppose against his proceedings, and the Earle *Iohn* taking aduantage vpon these discontentments (to make himselfe more popular, and prepare the way to his intended vsurparion) ioynes with the state against this B. being the man that had euer crossed his courses hauing an especiall eye vnto him, as the most dangerous person of the Kingdome, both in respect of the Kings charge, and his owne safrie.

Longshamps traine and pompe.

And now there fell out a fit occasion to ruine the Chancellor by this meanes: *Geffrey* the Elect Archbishop of Yorke, base sonne to *Henry* the 2. to whose preferment, in *Eng.* King *Richard* was auerse (& therfore had confin'd him within *Normandy* during his absence) had by great labour to Pope *Celestine*, obtained a powre to bee inuested in the

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that Sea: whose comming into *England* being aduertised to the Chancellor *Longshamp*, he was at his landing at *Douer* apprehended, and drawne by force out of the Church which hee had reconered, and from the Altar in his Pontificall habit trailed into the Castle in most vile manner. Of which violence the Earle *Iohn*, and the Bishop taking notice, they command the Chancellor not only to release him but also to answere the matter, before the assembly of the Bishops, and Nobilite at *Pauls*: where, they Article, and vrge against him many hainous actions committed; contrarie to the Comission giuen him, and the Weale of the King, and Kingdome.

Geffrey the Elect of Yorke taken and imprisoned by the Chancellor.

The Archbishop of *Roan*, and *William* Marshall Earle of *Striguile* shewed openly the Kings Letters pattents, dated at *Messena* in *Sicile*, whereby they were made Commissioners with him in the gouernment of the Kingdome; which notwithstanding, hee would neuer suffer them to deale in any businesse of the same: but by his owne violent, and headlong will, doe all himselfe: wherefore in the end hee was by the Assembly deposed from his Office: and the Archbishop of *Rouen* (who would doe nothing without the Councell of the State) instituted therein. The Towre of *London*, and the Castle of *Windsor* are taken from him, and deliuered to the Archbishop. And so this great Officer presuming to much in his place (hauing enuie so neere him, and a maister so farre off) was throwne downe from his State, faine to resigne his Legantine Crosse at *Canterbury*, and to take vp that for the Holy warre: and priuily seeke-ing to escape ouer Sea, was in the habit of a woman, with a webbe of Linnin cloth vnder his arme, taken vpon the shore at *Douer*, and most opprobriouslie made a spectacle to the people, and conducted with all derision to the Castle; whence after eight daies hee was by the Earle *Iohn* released, and suffered to goe on his iourney; wherein, being the messenger of his owne misusage he had the aduantage of his aduersaries, and preuailed against them with the Pope, who tooke very tenderly the powre Legantine should be so vilified.

Longshamp the Chancellor deposed from his office.

He flies and is taken.

The Earle *Iohn*, the Archbishop of *Rouen*, and the other Iustices of the King, grant vnto the Citie of London *their Common (or liberties)* and the Citizens *swore fealtie to King* Richard *and his haire: and that if he died without issue, they would receiue the Earle* Iohn *for their Lord and King, and likewise swore fealty vnto him against all men, reserving their faith to King* Richard.

In this forwardnesse was the Earle *Iohn* for his brothers Crowne, whilst hee is beleagaring *Ascalon*, and grapling with *Saladin Sultan* in the East. But hauing notice of this proceeding in *England*, and how the King of *France* had taken in *Gisors*, and the Country of *Vexin*, contrarie to his Oath, hee takes the oportunity of an offer made by *Saladin* of a truce for three yeares, vpon condition *that hee should restore* Ascalon *to the same State wherein hee found it before the siege*: which hee did by the Counsell of the Templars, and the whole Armie. And presently leauing Wife, Sister, and people to come after him (as they could prouide) takes a shippe with some few followers, and returnes from this action, with as great precipitation as hee vndertooke it: hauing consumed therein all that mightie Treasure left him by his father, and all that otherwise hee could teare from his subiects, and others, by violent extortion, or cunning practises.

King *Richards* departure from *Palestina*.

Pardon vs Antiquitie, if we miscensure your actions which are euer (as those of men) according to the vogue, and sway of times, and haue onely their vpholding by the opinion of the present. wee deale with you but as posteritie will with vs (which euer thinkes it selfe the wiser) that will iudge likewise of our errors according to the cast of their imaginations. But for a King of *England* to returne in this fashion, cannot bee but a note of much inconsideration, and had as pittifull an euent. For hauing taken vp by the way three Gallies to conduct him to *Ragusa* for three hundred Markes of Siluer (disguised vnder the names of Pilgrimes) hee was by his lauish expences discouered to bee the King of England which note once taken, it was impossible for him to lay anie couering thereon, that could euer hide him more: though vpon warning thereof, he presently left all his company, and with one man onely takes horse, and through all the daungers of a wilde desart, and rocky Country, trauayling day, and night, passes into

His discouery.

into *Austrich*, where Fame, that was a speedier post then himselfe, was before him. And comming to a Village nere to Viena, and reposing himselfe in a poore hosterie, was taken a sleepe, by meanes of his companion going forth to prouide necessaries for him, who as hee was changing money was knowne, taken, and brought before the Duke of *Austrich*, and vpon examination confessed where his maister was, of which prise the Duke was most ioyfull, in respect of his reuenge for the disgrace hee did him at the entring of *Acon*, and presently sends him to the Emperour *Henry* the sixt, whom likewise he had offended for ayding *Tancredi* the base sonne of *Roger* in the vsurpation of the Crowne of *Sicilia*, against *Constantia* the lawfull daughter of the same *Roger* whom this Emperour had married.

King *Richard* taken prisoner

Newes hereof is presently sent by the Emperour to the King of *France* that he might likewise reioyce at this fortune, and hee tells him, *That now the Enemy of his Empire, and the disturber of the Kingdome of* France, *was fast in holde, and all the manner how.* The State of *England* is likewise soone certified of this heauie disaster, and great meanes is made to redeeme their King out of captiuitie, who is sayd to haue borne his fortune with that magnanimitie, and cleered himselfe of the scandalls layd on him for the death of *Conrade* the Emperours kinsman, & other his actions in the East, in such sort, as he won the affection of the Emperor, so that he professed a great desire to restore him, and reconcile him to the King of *France*. But yet wee finde, *That King* Richard *deposed himselfe of the Kingdome of* England, *and deliuered the same to the Emperour as his supreame Lord, and inuested him therein by the deliuering vp his hat*, which the Emperour returned vnto him in the presence of the Nobility of *Germany* and *England* to hold this Kingdom from him for 50 thousand pounds sterling to be payed as an annuall tribute.

King *Richard* deposed himselfe of the Kingdome of England.

And yet notwithstanding all this, the King of *France*, combining with the Earle *Iohn*, preuailed so much with the Emperour as hee held him his prisoner; a whole yeare, and sixe weekes, through the offer of mighty summes they made vnto him. For he, and the Earle *Iohn* fully accounted that he should haue beene held a perpetuall prisoner, and vpon that reckning the Earle *Iohn* did his homage to the King of *France* for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and all the rest of those transmarine territories, and for *England* as it is sayd: and besides resignes vnto him *Gisors*, with the Country of *Vexin*, sweares to marry his sister *Alice*, and to bee diuorced from his other Wife the Daughter of the Earle of *Glocester*. The King of *France* couenants to giue him with his sister that part of *Flanders* which hee had taken from that Eareldome, and sweares to ayde him in the attayning both of *England* and whatsoeuer else the Lands of his brother.

Earle *Iohn* doth homage to the King of France for Normandy.

Then goes the Earle *Iohn* ouer into *England* carrying many strangers with him, and presently the Castles of *Wallingford* and *Windsor* are rendred vnto him: then comes hee to *London* and requires of the Archbishop of *Rouen*, and other the Commissioners, the Kingdome of *England* and that fealty bee made vnto him, affirming his brother was dead, but they not giuing credit vnto him, and denying his desire; with rage and strong hand, hee fortifies his Castles, and in hostile manner inuades the Lands of his brother, finding many partakers to ioyne with him.

The Queene mother, the Iustices of *England*, and all the faithfull seruants of the King, guard, and defend the ports, against the inuasion of the *French*, and *Flemings*, who in great numbers seeke to ayde the Earle *Iohn*, and also they labour the redemption of the King, whose ransome the Emperour rates at 100 thousand Marks, with the finding of fiftie Gallies ready furnished, and two hundred souldiers to attend his seruice in the holy warres for one yeare.

In *Normandie* the Officers and Seruants of the King of *England* defend with no lesse faith, and courage the right of their Maister against the King of *France*, who withall his powre labours to subdue them, and by his large offers to the Emperour prolongs his redemption and inhaunces his ransome. This toyle and charge is the world put into through the misfortune and weakenesse of their hardy King who, onely in respect of his valour (being otherwise not worth so much) and the Holy worke hee vndertooke, whereby hee obliged the Clergie, which then managed all, got the opinion and loue of his subiects, in such sort, as they straine

euen

euen beyond their ability to recouer and preserue him, and so wrought in the end that the Emperour compounds with King *Richard* in this manner: *that hee should send his Commissioners to London, and receaue an hundred thousand Markes of pure siluer of* Cologne *waight, to be sealed vp and safely conducted to the bounds of the Empire at the perile of the King of* England; *and other fifty thousand Markes of siluer (whereof twenty thousand for the Duke of* Austrich *and thirty thousand for the Emperour, to be payd at seauen monethes after, and pledges to be giuen: three score to the Emperor, and seauen to the Duke.* Besides the King of *England, sweares to send his Neece, the sister of Arthur Earle of Brittaine to be married to the Duke of* Austrich, &c.

The Emperors composition with King Richard.

And the Emperour granted to the King of *England* by his Charter *the Soueraignty of* Prouince, *Vienne*, and *Viennoys, Merseilles, Narbona, Arls, Lyons, and whatsoeuer hee had in* Burgogne, *with the Homages of the King of* Arragon, *the Earles of* Dijon, *and Saint Giles.* In which countries were fiue Archbishop-ricks, thirty three Bishopricks, but the Emperour could neuer haue domination ouer them, nor they receaue any Lord that hee presented them. So that this great gift consisted but in title, which yet pleased King *Richard* that hee might not seeme to part with all his substance for nothing. And the same wind he sends to *Hubert* the new Archbishop of *Canterbury*, lately made his Vicegerent in *England* to be blowne ouer all the Kingdome, by a letter he wrote vnto him: wherein he hath these words. *For that sure I am, you much desire our deliuerance and greatly reioyce therein, we will that you be partaker of our ioy, and thought fit to signifie to your beloued nesse, that the Lord the Emperour hath prefixed the day thereof to be vpon* Munday *after the Feast of the* Natiuity, *and the Sunday after we shall receiue the Crowne of the Kingdome of* Prouince, *which he hath giuen vs, whereof we send his Letters Patents vnto you, and other our friends, and well willers, and doe you in the meane time, as much as in you lyeth, comfort those you know, loue vs; and desire our promotion.* Teste me ipso apud Spiram 22. Sep. *The Emperour likewise writes to the Bishops, Earles, Barons, and other the Subiects of* England, *how he purposed to ad-uance and magnificently to honour his especiall friend their King; and in this Coyne are they payd at home for what they were to lay out.*

King *Richards* letters into *England.*

1592. *Anno.* *Reg.* 4.

King *Richard* sends after this, for his mother Queene *Elionor* (who is still a trauailer) and for the Archbishop of *Rouen* with many others to come vnto him, about the time and business of his deliuerance, for which, There is *imposed vpon euery Knights Fee twenty shillings, the fourth part of all lay mens reuenues; and the fourth part of all the reuenues of the Clergie, with a tenth of their goods* is inioyned to be payd. *The Chalices and treasure of all Churches are taken to make vp the summe*, the like is done in all his territories beyond the Seas, so dearely cost the returne of this King from his *Easterne voyage.*

And his Queene *Berenguela* had likewise her part of affliction in this iourney for shee with her sister in law the Queene *Dowager* of *Sicilia*, fearing the Emperours malice were a whole yeare in trauayling from *Palestina*, and at length were conducted vnto *Poictou* The King of *France* hearing of this conclusion made betwixt King *Richard* and the Emperour writes *to the Earle* Iohn *how the Diuell was got loose, willing him now to looke to himselfe; and it vexed them exceedingly both, being disappointed thus of their hopes.* And thereupon, the Earle *Iohn* leauing his Castles in *England* well defended, and incouraging his Soldiers to hold out, and credit no reports, departes into *Normandy*, where he with the King of *France*, whilest King *Richard* is yet in the Emperours hands solicites him, *with the proffer of a hundred and fifty thousand Markes or else a thousand pounds a moneth, so long as he held him his prisoner.* But it preuayled not, though it staggered the Emperour for a time, who in the end shewed this letter to King *Richard* (that he might see what care was taken for him) and then deliuers him to his mother *Elionor* receiuing the pledges for obseruation of peace, (and the rest of the ransome vnpayd) *the Archbishop of* Rouen, *the Bishop of* Bath, *with the sonnes of many principall Earles and Barons.* And so in February, one yeare, and sixe weekes after his Captiuity, in the fourth yeare of his raigne he returnes into *England*, where the Bishops (in whose grace especially he was) had excommunicated the Earle *Iohn*, and all his adherents, and taken in his Castles of *Marleborow*; *Lancaster*, and a fortresse at Saint *Michels* mount in *Cornewall* defended by *Henry de Pumeroy*. But his Castle of *Nottingham*, though strongly assailed by *Ralph* Earle of *Chester* and

The King of *France* and Earle *Iohn* proffer great sums to hold King *Richard* prisoner.

King *Richards* returne into England.

and the Earle *Ferrers*, and the Castle of *Tichill* by the Bishop of *Duresme*, held out for the Earle *Iohn*, and found the King some worke to doe vpon his returne; who presently without any stay otherwhere, came before *Nottingham* Castle withall the shew of state and greatnesse he could make; which yet could not so terrifie the defendants, as to make them yeeld, confident either in their owne strength, or in opinion that there was no King euer to returne to assault them, and supposing it but a meere shew, resolued to hould out for their maister; which put the King to much trauayle, and great expence of blood before they rendred themselues, which was also vpon pardon. Those of the Castell of *Tichill* yeelded to the Bishop of *Duresme*, *their persons, and goods saued.*

1193. *Anno. Reg.* 5.

The King assembles a Parlement at *Nottingham* where Queene *Elionor* was present, and sat on his right hand. The first day of the Session, *he disseiseth* Girard de Canuile *of the Castle of* Lincoln, *and the Shriefwike of that Shire: from* Hugh Bardolph *hee takes the Shriefwicke of Yorkeshire, the Castles of Yorke, Scarborow, and the custody of Westmerland, and exposes them all to Sale. The Archbishop of* Yorke *giues for the Shriefwicke of Yorkeshire three thousand Markes, with one hundred Markes of annuall rent.*

A Parlament at *Notingham.*

The second day of the Session the King requires iudgement vpon the Earle *Iohn, for hauing contrary to his Oath of fealty, vsurped his Castles, &c. and contracted confederacy with the King of* France *against him. And likewise iudgement against* Hugh de Nauant *Bishop of* Couentry *for adhering to the Earle* Iohn, *and the Kings enemies.* And it was adiudged, *they should both appeare at a peremptory day to stand to the law. Which if they did not, the Earle* Iohn *to deserue banishment, and the Bishop to vnder goe the iudgement, both of the Clergie, as being a Bishop, and of the Layety being the Kings Shriefe.* But this Bishop two yeares after, was restored to the Kings fauour, and his Bishopricke, for fiue thousand Markes. The third day of this Session was graunted to the King, *of euery ploughland, through out* England, *two shillings, besides the King required the third part of the seruice, of euery Knights Fee, for his attendance in* Normandy: *and all the Wooll that yeare of the Monkes Cisteaux. Which for that it was grieuous and insupportable vnto them, they fine for money.*

The fourth and last day, was for *the hearing of grieuances and accusations*, and so this assembly brake vp. But here either to adde more Maiesty after calamity, or else to nullifie his act done to the Emperour is appointed the Kings recoronation to be solemnised at *Winchester*, presently vpon the Feast of *Easter* next following. Whilest the king was in these parts, *William* King of *Scots*, repaires to him, and required *the dignities and honours his predesessors of right had in* England, *and with all, the counties of* Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmerland, *and* Lancaster. To whom the King of *England* first answered, *that he would satisfie him by the aduice of his Councell*, with shortly after was assembled at *Northampton*, where, after deliberation, he told him *that his petition, ought not in reason, to be graunted at that time, when almost all the Princes of* France *were his enemies, for it would be thought rather an act of feare, then any true affection*, and so put it off for that time with faire promises: yet graunts he by the aduice, and consent of the Councell, vnder his Charter, to *William* King of *Scotts* and his heires for euer: *that when by sommons they should come to the Court of the king of* England, *the Bishop of* Duresme, *and the Shriefe of Northumberland should receaue them at the riuer of* Tweed, *and bring them vnder safe conduct to the riuer of* Teis, *and there the Archbishop of* Yorke, *and the Shriefe of Yorkeshire should receiue and conduct them to the bounds of that county: and so the Bishops, and Shriefes of other Shires till they came to the Court of the King of* England, *and from the time that the King of Scots first entred into this Realme, hee should haue an hundred shillings a day allowed of guift for his charge, and after he came to the Court, thirty shillings a day, and twelue Wastells, and twelue Simnells of the Kings, foure quartes of the Kings best wine and six of ordinary wine, two pounds of pepper, and foure pounds of Cinamon; two pounds of Waxe, or foure Wax lights, forty great long perchers of the Kings best candles, and twenty foure of other ordinary, and at his returne to be safely conducted as he came, and with the same allowance.*

Richard againe crowned at *Winchester.*

From *Northampton*, both the Kings go to Woodstock and thence to *Winchester*, where the Coronation is sumptuously solemnised. And there King *Richard* resumes the two Mannors he sold to the Bishop of *Winchester*, at his going to the holy Warre, and likewise the Castle of *Winchester* and that county, with whatsoeuer sales he had made else of

Resumptions.

of the *Demaynes* of the Crowne, alledging *that it was not in his power to aliene any thing appertayning to the same whereby his State was to subsist.* The Bishop of *Duresme* seeing these reuocations, did voluntarily, deliuer vp the Castle of *Duresme*, with the County of *Northumberland*, which the King willed to be deliuered to *Hugh Bardolph. Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln* gaue for the liberty of his Church one thousand Markes of siluer, redeeming thereby the custome of giuing to the King of *England* euery yeare a cloke furred with *Sabells*.

Here all such who had taken part with the Earle *Iohn* and defended his Castles, were sommoned to appeare, and all the rich were put to their ransome, the poorer sort let go at liberty, but under sureties of an hundred Markes a peece, to answere in the Kings Court whensoeuer they should be called. The King of *Scots*, seeing the King of *England* vse all meanes for money, offers fifteene thousand Markes for *Northumberland*, with the appurtenances, alledging *how King* Henry *the second gaue the same to* Henry *his Father, and that after him, King* Malcom *inioyed it fiue yeares.* This large offer of money tempted King *Richard* so, as againe hee consulted with his Councell about the matter, and in conclusion was willing to yeeld the same to the King of *Scots*, reseruing to himselfe the Castles, but that, the King of *Scots* would not accept, and so with much discontent departs into *Scotland*; yet two yeares after this, King *Richard* sends *Hubert Walter* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to *Yorke*, there to treare with the King of *Scots* of a marriage betweene *Otho* his Nephew, and *Margaret* daughter to the said king, to haue for her dowre *all Lynox, and he would giue with his Nephew*, Northumberland *and the Earldome of* Carlile, *with all the Castles*, but the Queene of *Scots* in the time of this treaty, being knowne to be with Childe, it tooke no effect.

From *Winchester*, king *Richard* departs into *Normandy* with an hundred ships, so that his stay in *England* was but from the latter end of February to the tenth of May, and that time onely spent in gleaning out what possible this kingdome could yeeld, to consume the same in his businesses of *France*, which tooke vp all the rest of his raigne; being in the whole but nine yeares, and nine months whereof he was neuer aboue eight moneths in *England*. Nor doe wee finde that euer his wife *Berenguela* was here, or had any dowry or honour of a Queene of *England*, or otherwise of any regard with him, how much souer she had deserued.

King *Richard* departs into *Normandy* with 100 ships

And now all affaires that either concerned the state in generall, or any mannes particular, was (to the great charge and trauayle of the Subiects of *England*) to be dispatched in *Normandy*: and that gaine we had by our large dominions abrode. The first action that king *Richard* vndertooke vpon his comming ouer, was, the relieuing of *Vernoul*, besieged by the king of *France* and there his brother *Iohn*, by the mediation of their mother Queene *Elionor* is reconciled vnto him, and abiures the part of the king of *France*. And to make his party, the stronger in those countries hee first giues his sister *Ioane*, Queene *Dowager* of *Sicile* to *Raymond* Earle of *Toulouse*, being the neerest neighbour of powre to his *Dutchy* of *Guien*, and might most offend him. Then enters league with *Baldwine* Earle of *Flanders* from whom the king of *France* had taken *Artois*, and *Vermandois*, and on all sides seekes to imbroyle his enemy. Foure yeares at least, held this miserable turmoyle betwixt these two kings, surprising, recouering, ruyning and spoyling each others Estate, often deceuing both the world, and themselues with shew of couenants reconciliatorie (which were euer more broken againe vpon all aduantages according to the mistery of war and ambition.

King *Phillip* of *France* to strengthen himselfe with shipping to oppose the *English*, matries *Botilda* the sister of *Knut* king of *Denmark*, but this match made for his ends, and not affection turned to his more trouble, for the next day after his wedding hee put her away, pretending (besides other things) propinquity of bloud, and for this had he long and great contention with the Church and the king of *Denmarke*. The Emperor sends to the king of *England* a massie Crowne of gold, and offers to come and ayde him against the king of *France*, and to inuade his kingdome, but the king returnes him onely thankes, nor willing to haue him stire in this busines and in regard hee suspected the Emperour affected to adde *France* to the Empire, which would not be safe for him: or that

1194. Anno. Reg. 6.

that the King of *France* dealing with the Emperour might win him with mony, and so in the end, ioyne both together against him. Now to supply the charge of this great worke, *England* was sure still to beare the heauiest part: and no shift is least vnsought, that might any way rayse meanes to the King from hence. Witnesse *the Commission giuen to the Iustices Itenerants sent into euery Shire of England for exaction vpon pleas of the Crowne, for Escheats, wardships, marriages, &c. with the improuement of the Demaynes, and the order taken for the exact knowing of the Estates of men, and especially of the Iewes, on whom the King would haue none to prey but himselfe: Then the raysing an imposition vpon allowance of Turnements, which was for euery Earle twenty Markes of siluer: euery Baron, ten, euery Knight hauing lands, foure: and for such as had none, two Markes for a licence.* The Collection whereof the Archbishop of Canterbury commits to his brother Theobald Walter. *Besides another new seale, the old being lost by the Vice-Chancelor at the taking of Ciprus* brings in a new exaction.

Vide Append.

Meanes vsed for money.

But the proceeding in the pleas of the Crowne and extorting of penalties *Anno Reg. 9.* By *Hugh Bardolph, Roger Arundle* and *Geffrey Hatchet* Iustices Itenerants for *Lyncolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Darbyshire, Yorkeshire, Northumberland, Cumberland,* and *Lancaster*, was of a higher straine of exaction, and more profound, as hauing more of time, and presumption vpon the peoples sufferance, of whom, when once trial was made that they would beare, were sure to haue more layd on them then they were able to vnder goe. And with these vexations (saith *Houeden*) all *England* from Sea to Sea was reduced to extreame pouerty, and yet it ended not heare: another torment is added to the confusion of the Subiects by the Iustices of the Forests, *Hugh Neuile*, chiefe Iustice, *Hugh Wac*, and *Ernise de Neuile*, who not onely execute those hidious lawes introduced by the *Norman*, but impose other of more tyranicall seuerity, as the memory thereof being odious, deserues to be vtterly forgotten, hauing afterwards by the hard labour of our noble ancestors, and the goodnes of more regular Princes, beene assuaged and now out of vse.

Besides in the same yeare, this King *imposes 5 shil. vpon euery Hide or Plough-land, (which contayned an hundred Acres)* for the leuying whereof a most strict course was taken: Likewise he required by his Vicegerent the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that *the people of England should finde three hundred Knights for one yeare to remaine in his seruice, or so much money, allowing for euery Knight, three shillings* per diem. Against which *Hugh* Bishop of *Lyncoln* opposes, and saies, that *he would neuer yeeld to the Kings will in this, for the detriment it might be to the Church, and example to posterity, that should not complaine thereof, and say: our Fathers haue eaten sowre grapes, and the childrens teeth are set on edge*, and turning to the Archbishop, *wished him, that he would doe nothing whereof he might be a shamed.*

Vndecies centena millia Marc. Houed.

This Archbishop so husbanded the Kings businesse that in *Anno Reg. 7.* he yeelded an accompt vnto him, that hee had leuied of the Kingdome within the space of two yeares eleuen hundred thousand Markes of siluer; which, considering that time is a most remarkeable summe. And now as the first act of this King was his violent proceeding in a businesse of Treasure with *Stephen Thurstan Seneschall* of *Normandy*, so was it likewise the last, and the cause of his distruction: for, *Widomare, Viscont* of *Limoges*, hauing found a great treasure of siluer, and gold in the ground, sends a good part thereof to the King, which he refuses, laying clayme to the whole: *Widomare* denying the same, the King layes siege to his Castle where he imagined the treasure was hid; they of the Castle being but weake, offered to render the same, their liues members, and Armor saued, which the King would not yeeld vnto, but swore that hee would sack the Castle, and hang them all. Whereupon desperatly they resolue to stand to their defence. King *Richard* with *Marchard*, generall of the *Brabanzons* going about the Castle to view what place was fittest for an assault; *Bertram de Gurdun*, from the walls shot a barbed arrow that hit the King in the arme, with such a deadly blow, as he was presently sent to his lodging: notwithstanding commands he his forces to prosecute the assault without intermission which they did, and tooke the Castle putting to execution all the defendants except *Bartram*, who by the Kings command was reserued.

But

But the arrow drawne out with great torture, left the head behinde, which being by a rude Chirurgion, after much mangling the flesh hardly cut out, brought the King to dispaire of life, and to dispose of his Estate, leauing to his brother *Iohn* three parts of his treasure, and the fourth to his seruants.

Which done, he willed *Bertram Gurdun* to be brought vnto him, of whom he demanded, what hurt he had done him, that prouoked him to doe this mischiefe; to whom *Bertram* replies: *thou hast killed my father and my two brothers with thine owne hand, and now wouldest haue slaine mee, take what reuenge thou wilt. I will willingly indure whatsoeuer torture thou canst inflict vpon mee, in respect I haue slaine thee, who hast done such and so great mischiefe to the world.* The King notwithstanding this rough and desperate answere, caused him to be let loose, and not onely forgaue him his death, but commanded 100 shillings sterling to be giuen vnto him, but *Marshard* after the King was dead caused him to be hanged and flayed. The death of King *Richard.*

This was the end of this Lyon-like King, when he had raigned nine yeares, and 9 monthes, wherein hee exacted, and consumed more of this Kingdome, then all his predecessors from the Norman had done before him, and yet lesse deserued then any, hauing neither liued here, neither left behinde him monument of Pierie, or of any other publique worke, or euer shewed loue or care to this Common-wealth, but onely to get what hee could from it. Neuer had Prince more giuen with lesse a doe and lesse noyes then hee. The reason whereof, as I haue said, was his vndertaking the Holy warre, and the cause of Christ, with his suffring therein; & that made the Clergie, which then might doe all, to deny him nothing: and the people, fed with the report of his miraculous valour, horrible incounters in his voyage abroade: and then some victories in *France*, were brought to beare more thē euer otherwise they wold haue don. 1599. *Anno.* *Reg.* 10.

Then had he such Ministers here to serue his turne as preferred his, before the seruice of God, and did more for him in his absence, then euer peraduenture hee would, or could haue done for himselfe by being here present. For, both, to hold their places, and his good opinion, they deuise more shifts of rapine, then had euer bin practised before in this Kingdom, & cared not so he were satisfied, what burthen they layd on the Subiect; which rent, & torne by continuall exactions was made the more miserable, in that they came betrayed with the shew of *Religion* & *Law*, the maine supporters of humane societie, ordayned to preserue the state of a people, & not to confound it. But the insolent ouercharging the state in these times gaue occasion to the future, to prouide for themselues; Excesses euer procure alterations. And the Successors of this King were but little beholding vnto him; for out of his irregularitie, their boundlessenes came to be brought within some limits. Yet what this King wold haue proued, had his daies allowed him other then this rough part of warre, we know not; but by the operation of a poore Hermits speech made vnto him, we are shewed that he was conuertible. For being by him vehemently vrged to be mindefull of the subuersion of *Sodome*, and to abstaine from things vnlawfull, therby, to auoyd the vengeance of God, he vpon an insuing sicknes (a sounder Counsailor then health) remembring this aduertisment, vowes a reformation of his life: and did afterward vpon his recouery, euery morning rise early to heare deuine seruice. For which *Howden* hath this note: *how glorious it is for a Prince to begin and end his actions in him who is beginning without beginning, and iudges the ends of the Earth.* Besides he growes hospitable to the poore, and made restitution of much Church vessell, that had beene taken and sold for his ransome.

Though this King had no issue, yet was he told by a Priest in *France* that he had three euill daughters, and admonished to put them away and bestow them abroad to auoyde the punishment of God. The King gaue him the lie and sayd, *he knew none hee had, Yes Sir*, replied the Priest, *three daughters you haue, and they are these, Pride, Couetousnesse and Lecherie.* The King calling those who were present about him, and relating what the Priest had said, willed them to be witnesses how he wold bestow these his 3 daughters which the Priest charged him withall. *The 1 which is Pride I giue to the Templars and Hospitallers, Couetousnesse to the Monkes of Cisteaux Order, and Lecherie to the Clergie*, this sodaine retortion shewes vs his quicknes, and what kinde of men were then maligned & out of his grace. His yssue.

The end of the Life, and raigne of Richard the first.

The Life, and raigne of King Iohn.

1199. *Anno.* *Reg.* 1.

IOHN hauing his brothers Army in the field, with all his Seruants and followers, intertaines them generally with promises of large rewards, and thereby had the aduantages *of time, power, and opinion* to help him on to his desires. *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* being vpon busines in those parts, and the most potent minister he could wish, for so mighty a worke, he presently dispatches for *England*, with *William* Marshall Earle of *Striguil*, *Geffery Fitz Peter*, &c. to prepare the people to receiue him for their King: who, especially dealing with those were most doubted would oppose him, and vndertaking for him that he should restore vnto them their rights, and gouerne the Kingdome, as hee ought, with moderation; wrought so as they were all content vpon those conditions, to sweare Fealte vnto him against all men. These vndertakers, likewise, send word to *William* King of *Scots* (to hold him in, from any attempt) that hee should also haue full satisfaction for what hee claymed in *England*, vpon the returne of their new Maister. And so were all things made cleare on this side. But on the other, the right of succession, which was in *Arthur* the Elder brothers Sonne, stirred affections of another nature, the nobility of *Aniou*, *Maine* and *Tureine*, maintayning the vsuall custome of inheritance, adhere to *Arthur*, whom his mother *Constance* puts vnder the Protection of the King of *France*, who receiues him and vndertakes the defence of his right.

Iohn hauing his chiefe ayme at the Crowne of *England* could haue no time of stay to close those ruptures that so violently brake out there, but hauing receiued the inuestiture of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and performed all those rites, he speedily, with his mother *Elionor* (who must haue her part in euery act of her Sonnes) passes ouer into England, and by way of election receues the crowne vpon the Assention day, at the hands of *Hubert* Archbish. of *Canterbury*, who in his Oration, (as it is recorded in *Mat.Pa.*) before the whole Assembly of the state shewed, *that by all reason, deuine & humaine, none ought to succeed in the Kingdome, but who should be for the worthynesse of his vertues, vniuersally chosen by the state, as was this man, &c.* which then, seemes especially vrged, in respect his title of succession would not carry it. And the Archbishop afterward, vpon this poynt, being questioned, confessed to his friends, *that he foresaw this man would, (what bloud and mischiefe soeuer it should cost) in the end obtayne the crowne. And therefore the safer way was, to preuent confusion, that the land should rather make him King, then he make himselfe; and that this election would be some tye vpon him.*

King *Iohns* Coronation.

So came *Iohn* to the crowne of *England* which he gouerned with as great iniustice as he gat it, and imbraked the state, and himselfe, in those miserable incombrances, thorow his violences and oppression, as produced desperat effects, and made way to those great alterations in the gouernment which followed. The Queene Mother, a woman of an high and working spirit, was an especiall agent in this preferment of her Sonne *Iohn*, in respect of her owne greatnesse, knowing how shee should be more by him, then shee could be by her grand-childe *Arthur*, who had a mother would looke to become Regent here, and so ouer-shaddow her estate, which was a thing not to be indured. Besides *Arthur* was a child, borne and bred a stranger, and neuer shewed vnto the Kingdome, so that he had nothing but his right to draw a party; which could not be such (in regard of the daunger of the aduenture, things standing as they did) that could doe him any great good. Men being content rather to embrace the present, though wrong, with saftie, then seeke to establish anothers right, with the hazard of their own confusion.

England secured to King *Iohn*.

The state of *England* secured; King *Iohn* returnes into *Normandy* vpon intelligence giuen of the defection wrought in those parts by *Phillip* the *French* King, who had giuen the order of Knighthood to *Arthur*, and taken his homage for *Aniou Poictou*, *Main*, *Turein*, and also for Normandy (in regard as he pretended) that King *Iohn* had neglected to come, and doe him homage for the same, as members held of the crowne of *France*. King

Iohn

Iohn, not willing vpon his new and doubtfull admission to the gouernment to ingulph himselfe into a sodaine warre, mediates a Parle with the King of *France*, who well vnderstanding the time, and his owne aduantages, requires so vnreasonable conditions, as King *Iohn* could not, without great dishonor yeeld vnto, and so they fall to the sword. The King of *France* vnder pretence of working for *Arthur* gets for himselfe, which being discouered, *Arthur* with his mother *Constance* are brought (by the perswasion of their chiefe Minister *William de la Roche*) to commit themselues to the protection of King *Iohn*; of whom likewise conceiuing a sodaine iealosie (or else informed of his purpose to imprison them) the next night after their comming, got secretly away & fled to *Angiers*. So this yong Prince, borne to be crusht betweene these two potent Kings (intending only their owne ends) gaue occasion by leauing them both, to make both his enemies. After many attempts, and little gaine on either side, another treaty is mediated by the Popes Legats, wherein King *Iohn* buyes his peace vpon these yeelding conditions: *That* Louys, *eldest sonne to King* Philip *should marry his Neece* Blanch *daughter of* Alphonso *King of Castile, and haue with her in Dowre, the Citie and County of* Eureux, *with sundry Castles in* Normandy, *and* 30 *thousand Markes of Siluer. Besides, promises if hee died without issue, to leaue vnto him all his territories in* France. *And that he would not ayde his Nephew* Otho (*lately elected Emperor*) *against* Philip *brother to the late Emperor Hen.* 6. whom the K. of *France* fauored, in opposition of Pope *Innocentius* who tooke the part of *Otho*.

1200. *Anno.* *Reg.* 2.

Prince *Arthur* and his mother flie to *Angiers*.

After this Peace made, *Otho* taking it vnkindly to bee thus forsaken by his Vncle *Iohn*, sends his two brothers *Henry* Duke of *Saxony* and *William Winton* (so titled, for hauing been born at *Winchester*) to require the City of *Eureux* and the County of *Poictou*, and two parts of the treasure which his Vncle King *Richard* had bequeathed vnto him, besides other moueables; but they come to late: the obligation of bloud, and rendring of dues is held to be of an inferior nature to the present interests of State. To this vnkind, and vnnaturall act he presently addes another: Repudiats his wife (daughter to the Earle of *Gloucester*, alleadging *consanguinity in the third degree*) and marries *Isabell* daughter and inheretrix to the Earle of *Angolesme* fianced before to *Hugh le Brun* Earle of March (a Peere of great Estate and alliance in *France*) by consent of King *Richard*, in whose custodie she then was. And hauing finished these distastfull businesses he returnes, to giue as little contentment, into *Eng.* where he imposes 3 shillings vpon euery Plough-land, to discharge the great dowry of 30 thousand Marks he was to giue with his Neece *Blanch* the collection whereof, *Geffrey* Archb. of Yorke opposes within his Prouince. For which, and for refusing, vpon summons to come vnto this late treaty in *France*, the King causes his *Shriefe Iames Potern*, to seise vpon all his temporalties. The Archb. interdicts the whole Prouince of *Yorke*, and excommunicats the Shriefe. K. *Iohn* shortly after, makes a progresse with his wife Queen *Isabel* ouer all the North parts vnto *Scotland* & *exacts great fines of offenders in his forests*. In his passing through Yorkeshire, his brother the Archb. refused him wine and the honour of the Bells at *Beuerley*, but by the mediation of 4 B B. and 4 Barons, and a great sum of mony a reconciliation is made betweene them with promise of reformation of excesses on either part.

King *Iohn* puts away his wife.

1201. *Anno.* *Reg.* 3.

An imposition of 3 shillings vpon euery Plough land.

Vpon Easter day (after his returne from the North) the King againe is Crowned at *Canterbury*, and with him *Isabel* his Queene, by the Archb *Hubert*. And there are the Earls and Barons of *Eng.* summoned to be ready with horse & armor to passe the Seas with him presently vpon Whitsontide, but they holding a conference together at *Leicester* by a generall consent send him word, *that vnlesse he would render them their Rights and Liberties, they would not attend him out of the Kingdome*. The King, saith *Houeden*, vsing ill counsell, required of them their Castles, & beginning with *William de Aubenie* demanded to haue his Castle of *Beauoyr*, *William* deliuers his sonne in pledge, but kept his Castle. Notwithstanding this refusall of the Lords, hauing taken order for the gouernment, he passes ouer with his Queene into *Normandy*, where his presence, with the great shew of his preparations, caused the reuolters to forbeare their enterprises for that time, and a farther ratification, with as strong couenants, and cautions as could be deuised, is made of the Agreements with King *Philip* of *France*, who feasts the King of *England* and his Queene at *Paris* with all complements of amitie.

His second Coronation.

1202. *Anno.* *Reg.* 4.

And

And here both Kings, solicited by the Popes Legat, grant a Subsidy of the fortith part of all their Subiects teuenues for one yeare (by way of Almes) to succor the Holy Land. For the leauying whereof in England, *Geffrey Fitz Peter* Chiefe Iusticiar sends out his Writs by way of request and persuasion, *and not as of due or coaction to auoyde example.*

Vide Append.

But many months passed not, ere a new conspiracy brake out by the instigation of *Hugh le Brun*, who stung with the rapture of his wife (a wrong of the most sensible touch in nature) combines with *Arthur*, the Barons of *Poictou* and *Brittaine*, and raised a strong side, which the King of *France* (notwithstanding all those tyes wherein hee stood ingaged to the King of *England*) betakes himselfe vnto, in regard of his owne interests and aduantages from which no bands could withhold him, and againe both these Kings are in Armes. The King of France declares himselfe for *Arthur*, to whom he marries his yongest daughter: requires King *Iohn* to deliuer vp vnto him all his territories in France, and by a peremptorie day summons him to appeare personally at Paris, to answere what should bee layde to his charge, and abide the Arest of his Court, which King *Iohn* refusing, was by sentence adiudged to loose all he held of that Crown.

He takes his Nephew *Arthur* prisoner.

Then is he assailed on one side by the King of *France* in *Normandy*, on the other by *Arthur*, and the Barons in *Anion* who lay siege to *Mirabel*, defended by *Elionor* the Queene mother, and were vpon the point of taking it; when King *Iohn*, with greater expedition and force then was expected, came and defeited the whole army of the assayliants, tooke prisoner the Earle *Arthur*, *Hugh le Brun* with the Barons of *Poictou* and aboue 200 Knights, and men of command, all which hee carried away bound in Carts, and dispersed into diuers Castles both of *Normandie* and *England*.

This victorie, which might seeme ynough to haue established his Estate, vndid him, for by the ill vsing thereof he lost himselfe and his reputation for euer. *Arthur* is shortly after mutthered in prison, and the deed layde to his charge, which, with the cruell execution of many his prisoners and Ostages, so exasperates the Nobilitie of *Brittaine*, *Anion* and *Poictou* as they all take Armes against him, and summoned he is to answere in the Court of Iustice of the King of *France* to whom they appeale, which, he, refusing is condemned both to loose the Dutchy of *Normandie* (which his Ancestors had held by the space of 300 yeares) and all his other Prouinces in *France*, whereof the next yeare after, either through his negligence being (as they write) giuen ouer to the pleasures of his yong wife, or by the reuolt of his owne Ministers (incensed likewise against him) he became wholy dispossessed.

Arthur murthered.

1203. *Anno.* *Reg.* 5.

King *Iohn* fines the Barons.

And in this disastrous Estate, he returnes into *England*, and charges the Earles and Barons with the reproach of his losses in *France* and fines them to pay the seuenth part of all their goods for refusing him ayde. Neither spared hee the Church, or the Commons in this imposition. *Of which rapin* (saith *Mat. Par.*) *were executors*, Hubert *Archbishop of* Canterbury *for the Clergie, and* Geffrey Fitz Peter *Iusticiar of Eng. for the Layetie.*

But all this treasure collected, amounted not to answere his wants, or the furnishing of fresh supplies for the recouery of his losses (for which he vrges the same to bee raised) and therefore againe in lesse then the space of an yeare, another leauie (but by a fairer way) is made. A Parliament is conuoked at *Oxford*, wherein is granted two Markes and an halfe of euery Knights fee for militarie ayde, neither departed the Clergie from thence till they had likewise promised their part. No sooner is this money gathered but a way is opened, into that all-deuouring Gulph of *France*, to issue it, through a reuolt begunne in *Brittaine*, by *Guido* (now husband to *Constance*, mother of *Arthur*) *Sauari de Malleon*, and *Almeric Lusignian*, confederats with many others; who receiuing not that satisfaction, expected from their new Maister, call in, their olde againe, to shew vs, that mens priuat interests, howsoeuer Honour and Iustice are pretended, onely sway their affections, in such actions as these.

1205. *Anno.* *Reg.* 7.

A Parliament at Oxford.

And ouer hastes King *Iohn*, and by the powre he brought, and what he found there, won the strong Castle of *Mont Alban*, and after the Citie of *Angiers*; and was in a faire way to haue recouered more; but that the King of *France*, by the fortune of one day (wherein he ouerthrew and tooke prisoners the chiefe confedrats, *Guido*, *Almeric*, & *Saueri*) forced him to take truce for two yeares, and returne into *Eng.* for more supplies.

And

And here another imposition is layde of the thirteenth part of all moueables, and other goods both of the Clergie and Layetie: who now seeing their substances thus consumed without successe, and likely euer to bee made liable to the Kings desperat courses, begin to cast for the recouery of their ancient immunites, which vpon their former suffrance had bn vsurped by their late Kings, & to ease themselues of these burthens indirectly layd vpon them. And the first man that opposed the collection of this imposition, was againe the Archb. of Yorke, who solemnly accursed the receiuers thereof within his Prouince, and secretly conuayed himself out of the Kingd. desirous rather to liue as an exile abroad then to indure the miserie of oppression at home: *men accounting themselues lesse iniuriously rifled in a wood, then in a place where they presume of saftie.*

1206. *Anno.* *Reg.* 8.

The cause of the breach between the King & his people.

And hence grew the beginning of a miserable breach betweene a King and his people, being both, out of proportion, and disioynred in those iust Ligaments of Command and Obedience that should hold them together, the reducing whereof into due forme and order againe, cost more adoe, and more noble bloud then all the warres forraigne had done since the Conquest. For this contention ceased not (though it often had some faire intermissions, till the great Charter made to keepe the beame right betwixt Soueraingtie and Subiection) first obtayned of this King *Iohn*, after, of his sonne *Hen.* 3. (though obserued truely of neither) was in the maturity of a iudiciall Prince, *Edward* the first freely ratifyed *An. Reg.* 27. which was aboue foure score yeares. And was the first ciuill dissention that euer we finde, since the establishing of the English Kingdom, betweene the King, and his Nobles of this nature. For the better knowledge whereof, we are to take a view of the face of those times, the better to iudge of the occasions giuen and taken of these turbulencies.

1207. *Anno.* *Reg.* 9. *Vide* Append.

It was this time, about 140. yeares since *William* the first had here planted the *Norman* Nobility, whose yssue being now become meere English, were growne to bee of great numbers, of great meanes, and great spirits, euer exercised in the warres of France, where most of them were Commanders of Castles, or owners of other Estates, besides what they held in *England*: and being by this violent, and vnsuccessull King shut out from action, and their meanes abroad, they practise to preserue what was left, and to make themselues as much as they could at home. Which, by their martiall freedome, and the priuiledges of the Kingdom (necessity now driuing them to looke into it) they more boldly presume to attempt, in regard they saw themselues, & the Kingdome brought to be perpetually harassed at the Kings will, & that violence and corruption hath no faculty to prescribe vpon them: wherein their cause was much better then their prosecution. For whilst they striue to recouer what they had lost, and the King to keepe what he by aduantage of time and sufference had gotten, many vniust and insolent courses are vsed on either side, which leaue their staine to posterity, & make foule the memory of those times. We can excuse no part herein, all was ill, and out of order. A diseased Head first made a distempted body, which being not to be recouered a part, rendred the sicknesse so long and teadious as it was. Besides, the strange corruption of the season concurred, to adde to this mischiefe: An ambitious Clergy polluted with auarice, brought Piety in shew to be a presumptiue party herein, & takes aduantages vpon the weakenesses they found, for which, the *Roman* Church heares ill to this day. And the occasion of their interposition in this busines, began about the Election of a new Archb. of *Canterbury* (*Hubert* being lately dead) which the Monkes of that Couent had made secretly in the night, of one *Reginald* their Subprior; to preuent the King whom they wold not, should haue a hand in the busines, which they pretended to appertaine freely to themselues by their ancient priuiledeges. And this *Riginald* (thus elected) they instantly dispatch towards *Rome* taking his Oath of secresie before hand. But the fulnesse of his ioy burst open that locke and out comes the report of his aduancement, vpon his landing in *Flanders*, which the Monkes hearing, and fearing what would follow, send to the king to craue leaue to Elect a fit man for that Sea. The King nominates vnto them *Iohn Gray* Bishop of *Norwich* whom hee especially fauoured, and perswaded them (vpon great promises of their good) to preferre: the Kings desire is propounded to the Couent, and after much debate, is *Iohn Gray* aduanced to the Chayre.

Reginald first chosen Archb. by the Monks.

Wherein

Wherein their last error (sayth *Mat. Par.*) *was worse then their first, and began that discord which after proued an irreparable dammage to the Kingdome.*

The King sends to *Rome* certaine of the Monkes of *Canterbury* (amongst whom was one *Helias de Brandfield* a most trusty seruant of his) with bountifull allowance, to obtaine the Popes confirmation of this Election. And about the same time likewise send the Bishops suffragans (of the Church of *Canterbury*) their complaynts to the Pope against the Monkes for presuming to make election without their assistance, as by Right and Custome they ought: alledging examples of three Archbishops so elected. The Monkes, oppose this allegation, offring to bring proofe that they onely, by the speciall priuiledge of the Roman Bishops were accustomed to make this Election. The Pope appoints a peremptorie day for deciding this Controuersie, wherein the first Election for being made in the night, out of due time, and without solemne ceremony is oppugned by the Kings procurators: the last was argued by some of the Monkes to be ill, by reason there was no cassation of the first, which iust or vniust ought to haue beene, before any other Election, could iuridically be made.

Innocent. the ninth.

The Pope seeing the procurators not to agree vpon one person, by the Councell of the Cardinalls adiudged both Elections voyde, and presents vnto them a third man, which was *Stephan de Lancton* a Cardinall of great spirit, and an Englishman borne, who had all the voyces of those Monkes which were there, through the perswasion of the Pope, alledging it was in their powre by his prerogatiue to make good this choyce.

Stephan Lancton elected Archbishop of Canterbury.

Stephan Lancton thus elected, and after consecrated at Viterbo, the Pope dismisses the Monkes and the rest of the Agents with letters to King *Iohn*, exhorting him, *benignly to receiue this Archbishop Canonically elected, natiue of his Kingdome, learned in all the Sciences, a Doctor in Theologie, and, which exceeded his learning, of a good life and conuersation: a man fit, both for his bodie, and his soule, &c.* withall he writes to the Prior, and Monkes, of Canterbury, charging them *by the vertue of Holy obedience to receiue the Archbishop to their Pastor, and humbly to obay him in all Spirituall and Temporall matters.*

These letters, with the notice of what was done at *Rome*, so inraged the King, as with all precipitation he sends *Foulke de Cantlo*, and *Henry de Cornhill*, two fierce knights, with armed men, to expell the Monkes of Canterbury, as Traytors, out of the Kingdome, and to seize vpon all they had, which presently was as violently executed as commanded, and away packe the Prior and all the Monkes into Flanders (except such as were sicke and not able to goe) and all their goods confiscated.

King *Iohn* offended with this Election writes to the Pope.

Here withall, he writes a sharpe letter to the Pope, *accusing him of the wrong hee did in cassing the election of* Norwich *whom he especiall fauoured, and aduancing* Stephan Lancton, *a man vnknowne vnto him, bred euer in the Kingdome of* France *& among his enemies; and, what was more, to his preiudice, and subuersion of the liberties appertayning to his Crowne, without his consent (giuen to the Monkes,) which should first haue beene required, hee had presumed rashly to prefer him: so that he much meruailed that the Pope, and the vniuersall court of* Rome, *would not call to minde how necessary his friendship had hitherto beene to that sea: and consider, that the Kingdome of* England *yeelded the same greater profit, and commoditie, then all the Kingdomes else on this side the* Alpes. Besides, *that he would stand to the liberties of his Crowne to the death:* constantly affirming, *that he could not be reuoked from the Election and preferment of the Bishop of* Norwich, *whom he knew euery way fit for the place.* And in conclusion threatens, *that if he be not righted in the Premises, hee would stop vp the passages of his people to* Rome; *and that if necessity required, he had in the Kingdome of* England, *and other his Dominions, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates of so sufficient learning, as they needed not goe to begge iustice, and iudgement of strangers.* The Pope returnes answere to the Kings letter, and begins with these words, *when about the businesse of the Church of* Canterbury, *we wrote vnto you, exhorting and requesting you humbly, earnestly, and benignly, you againe wrote backe to vs (as I may say, by your leaue) in a fashion threatning, reprouing, contumacious, and stubbornely, and whilst wee tooke care, to giue you aboue your right, you regarde not to giue vs according to our right, respecting vs lesse then becomes you. And if your deuotion bee most necessary for vs, so is ours no lesse fit for you. When wee, in such a case haue honoured no Prince so much as you, you sticke not*

to

to derogate from our honour, more then any Prince in such a case would haue done: pretending certaine frivolous occasions, wherein you alledge that you cannot consent to the Election of our beloued sonne Maister Stephan Præsbiter *by the title of Saint* Chrysogonus *Cardinall, celebrated by the Monkes of* Canterbury *for that hee hath beene bred among your Enemies, and his person is altogether vnknowne vnto you.* Then argues hee; *that it was not to bee imputed vnto him for a fault, but was his glory to haue liued long at* Paris, *where hee so profited in study as hee deserued to bee Doctor, not onely in the liberall Sciences, but also in Theologie: and his life agreeable to his learning was thought fit to obtaine a Prebend in* Paris. *Wherefore hee held it a marauaile if a man of so great note natiue of* England *could be vnknowne vnto him, at least in fame, since* (saith hee) *you wrote thrice vnto him after hee was, by vs preferred to bee Cardinall: that though you had a desire to call him to your familiar attendance, yet you reioyced that hee was exalted to a higher Office, &c.*

Then excuses hee the point that the Kings consent was not required; in regard that they who should haue required the same affirmed how their letters neuer came to his hands, &c. *Although* (saith hee) *in elections celebrated at the Apostolique Sea, the consent of Princes is not to bee expected. Yet were two Monkes deputed to come to require your consent, who were stayed at* Douer, *so that they could not performe their message inioyned them:* with other allegations to this effect, so that at length, saith hee, *wee were disposed to doe what the Canonicall Sanctions ordayned to bee done, without declyning either to the right hand, or the left, that there might bee no delay or difficultie in right intentions, least the Lords flocke should bee long without pastorall cure: and therefore reuoked it cannot bee.* In conclusion hee vseth these words, *As wee haue had care of your Honour beyond right, endeauour to giue vs ours according vnto right, that you may more plentifully deserue Gods grace; and ours, least if you doe otherwise you cast your selfe into those difficulties whence you cannot easily get out. Since hee, in the ende must ouercome, to whom all knees bow in Heauen, Earth, and Hell; whose Vicegerencie heere below (though vnworthie) wee exercise. Yeelde not therefore to their Councells, who desire your disturbance, that themselues might fish in troubled Waters; but commit your selfe to our pleasure, which will redound to your praise, Glorie and Honour. Neither is it safe for you to repugne against God, and the Church, for which, the blessed Martyre and glorious Bishoppe* Thomas *lately shedde his bloud, especially since your father, and brother of cleere memory late Kings of* England, *haue in the hands of the Legats of the Apostolique Sea abiured that impious Custome. Wee, if you acquite your selfe, will sufficiently take care for you, and yours that no preiudice shall arise vnto you hereby.* Dated at *Lateran* the 10 yeare of our Pontificat.

Thus we see how these two mighty powres striue to make good each other prerogatiue, and defend their interests with words. But when the Pope vnderstood how the King of *England* had proceeded against the Church of *Canterbury*, hee sends presently his Mandate to the Bishop of *London*, *Ely* and *Worcester*, to deale with the King, by way of exhortation, to reforme himselfe; and if they found him still contumacious, they should interdict the whole Kingdome of *England*. If that would not correct him, then himselfe would lay a seuerer hand vpon him, and withall charged the Bishops suffragans of the Church of *Canterbury* by vertue of their obedience to receiue for father the Archbishop *Stephan*, and to obay him withall respect. The Bishops as they were inioyned, repaire to the King. Shew the Popes Mandat, and with teares besought him, *as hee had God before his eyes to call home the Archbishop, and the Monkes of* Canterbury *to their Church, and vouchsafe to vse them with Honour and Charity, thereby to auoyde the scandall of interdiction, &c.*

The Popes Mandat to the B B.

The King interrupting the Bishops speech, breakes out into violent rage against the Pope, and the Cardinall, swearing by the teeth of God, *That if they, or any other should dare to put his Kingdome vnder interdiction, he would presently send all the Clergie of* England *to the Pope, and confiscat their goods.* Besides, *if any of* Rome *were found within any part of his Land, he would cause their eyes to bee put out, their noses cut, and so sent home, that by these markes they might be knowne of other Nations.* Charging moreouer the Bishop presently *to auoyde his presence, as they would auoyde their owne daunger.*

King Iohns answere to the B B.

Of

1208. Anno. Reg. 11.

Of this their ill satisfaction the Bishop certifies the Pope; and shortly after the whole Kingdome of *England* is interdicted: all Ecclesiasticall Sacraments cease, except Confession, Extreame Vnction, and Baptisme of Children: the dead are carried out, and put into the earth without Priest or prayer. The Bishops of *London, Ely, Worcester, Bathe* and *Hereford* secretly get out of the Kingdome.

To answere this violence with the like, the King sends presently his Shriefes, and other his ministers to command all Prelates and their seruants forth-with to depart out of the Kingdome, deputes the Bishopricks, Abbayes and Priories into the hands of Lay men confiscating all theis reuenues, but the Prelates themselues get into Monasteries, and would not out, except expelled by force, which the officers would not doe, hauing no Commission for the same, but they seize on all their goods to the Kings vse.

Here the Monasticall Writers of that time (of whom onely we haue notice of these proceedings, aggrauate the rigorous course taken in this businesse) telling vs that religious men, of what Order soeuer, found trauayling, were pulled from their horses, robb'd, and vily treated by the Kings seruants, and none to doe them Iustice. And how the seruants of a Shriefe bringing bound vnto the King a theefe, who had robbed and killed a Priest) to know what should be done with him: the King said, *loose him and let him goe, he hath killed our enemy*. But howsoeuer this were, there were Excesses to many committed in a time so vntied as this was.

The King takes pledges of his Nobles for their fidelitie.

The King to preuent the defection of his subiects which hee dayly doubted would follow vpon this his breach with the Church; sends with a militarie powre, to all the Potent men of the Kingdome, to require pledges for the assurance of their fidelitie; wherein many of them satisfied the Kings will, sending, some their sonnes, some their Nephewes, other the neareſt of their kinne *William de Brause* a Noble man beeing required to deliuer his pledge, his wife preuenting her husbands answere, tells the Commissioners, *that the King should haue none of her sonnes to keepe, that was so ill a keeper of his owne brothers sonne, Arthur*, for which sodaine, and intemperat speech, the Baron sharply reprehending his wife before the Kings seruants, told them he was ready, if he had offended, to satisfie the King, without any pledge, according to the iudgement of his Court, or that of his Peeres, at any time, or place wheresoeue.

His crueltie shewed to the wife and children of *W. Brause*.

Vpon the report of this answere the King sends downe priuely to apprehend the Baron, but he hauing notice, or doubting what would follow fled with his Wife, and Children into *Ireland*, where, afterward this afflicted Lady to recouer mercy of the King, is said, to haue sent Queene *Isabel* foure hundred kine, and a Bull, which yet could not mediate her pardon, or pacifie his wrath. But in the end she was there taken with her 2 sons (the husband escaping into *France*) and sent prisoner to the Castle of *Windsor*, where she with her innocent children were famished to death, so deerely payed she, for the offence of her rash tongue.

The Eschequer remooued to Northampton.

The King displeased with the *Londoners* remoued his Eschequer to *Northampton*, and with a great army marches towards *Scotland* to make warre vpon that King for receiuing his enemies, and ayding them against him. But by mediation an accord is made, in this sort, that the King of *Scots* should pay eleuen thousand markes of siluer, and deliuer vp his two daughters pledges for securing the peace. Returning backe, hee caused all inclosures within his forests to be layde open, a worke of great griefe to his subiects, whom, though in nothing hee sought to satisfie, yet seekes he what he may to fasten them in their obedience (whereof loue, and not rigour is the sureſt bond) and takes homage of all free Tenants, yea euen of Children of twelue yeares of age throughout the Kingdome.

King *Iohn* excommunicated.

Two yeares to the great distraction of the State, the interdiction held, when the Pope, seeing no yeelding in the King, proceeds to the excommunication of his person, that extreame course of absicion, which his Predicessor *Alexander*, better aduised, forbare to take, vpon suggestion of a more hainous act committed by *Henry* the second, vpon the person of *Thomas Becket*, and by this violence, thinking to quaile the heart of a most vnmaisterable King put him into more desperate rage with the Clergie, who, notwithstanding the Popes mandate durst not execute the same for many dayes after.

And

And first one *Geffery*, Archdeacon of *Norwich*, seruing in the Kings Exchequer conferring with the rest of his assistanrs, about this Sentence, affirmed, it was not safe for men beneficed to remaine in the obedience of an excommunicated King; and so without leaue retired himselfe home; and was the first subiect of his maisters wrath. Who presently sent Sir *William Talbot* with force to apprehend him, and lay him fast in fetters in a most straight prison, and afterward, vpon the kings commandement, he was put into a sheete of lead, wherein, with the waight, and want of victualls he soone perished.

The Archd. of Norw. forsakes the kings seruice, his torture, & death.

This excommunication of the King of *England*, was accompained the same yeare with that of the Emperour *Otho* his Nephew, and are noted to be straines of an vniust nature, *especially for being both done in cases of the Popes owne particular interrest, seeking to extend a predomination, beyond the bounds allowed vnto piety, which was onely to deale with mens soules, and not their Estates.* For in the aduancemenr of this Emperour *Otho* the third, the Pope had an especiall hand, opposing, for his owne ends the Election of *Phillip* Sonne to the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa.* And in the vacancy of the Empire had seised vpon certaine peeces in Italy appertayning therevnto; which, *Otho* seeking to reuoke, procured vndeseruedly the Popes displeasure, who sent vnto him diuers messages willing him to desist both from the prosecution of this recouery, as also from that which *Frederick* King of *Sicile* (who was vnder the tuition of the Apostolike Sea) had seised vpon.

The Emperor *Otho* excom.

The Empetour, is said to haue answered the *Popes* Nuncij, in this manner: *If the Pope vniustly desires to vsurp what apertaines to the Empire, let him absolue me from the Oath he caused me to take at my Coronation,* Which was; *that I should reuoke whatsoeuer rights were distracted from the same; and I will desist.* But the Pope refusing the one, and the Emperour not yeelding vnto the other, the sentence of excommunication is pronounced against him. And all the states, as well of Germany as the rest of the Roman Empire, are absolued of their fealty vnto him. Thus were these two mighty Princes; the greatest of all the Christian world; least to the mercy of their subiects, who, though they were, by this meanes, all vntyed from obedience, yet many were not so from their affections, or other obligations that held them firme vnto their Souraignes. For there are so many ligaments in a state that tye it together; as it is a hard thing to dissolue them altogether, vnlesse it is by an vniuersall concurrency of causes that produceth a generall alteration thereof. And it is seldome seene of what temper soeuer Kings are, but they finde an eminent party in the greatest defections of their people. As this King (the first of *England*, we finde put to this straight) had yet many noble members of power, besides rhe chiefe officers of the kingdome (whom their places confirme) that stuck vnto him. Whose names are recorded in *Mat. Par.* and other writers.

And the better to hold his reputation, and his people in action, hauing now no imployment abrode, hee seekes ro secure all orher members of rhe Crowne of England; which were vnder his dominion. And hauing ransackt great treasure from rhe *Iewes*, makes an expedirion into *Ireland*, vpon inrelligence of some reuolt and disorder there; And at his first ariuall, all rhe great men which held the maritime Castles and rhe Champion countries came in, and did homage and fealty vnto him at *Dublin*: such as inhabited the remote partes, and fastnesses of the Kingdome kept them selues away, and refused to come. Here ro reduce the country into better order, he ordaines the same to be gouerned by the lawes and customes of England, causes English money to be coyned there, and to be of equall valew with that of rhis Kingdome, and currant alike in both. With many other orders, which had they beene with that care continued, as they were aduisedly begun, would (as wise men deeme) haue setled that Kingdome in an intire obedience, and saued all that great toyle, and expence which, the neglect thereof cost this state, in succeeding ages. And now hauing deputed *Iohn Gray* Bishop of *Norwich* Iusticier there, after onely three moneths stay, hee returnes inro England where presuming now vpon his new gathered strength, hee summons all the Prelates of the kingdome to appeare before him at London; of whom saith *Mat. Par.* he extorted for their redemption the summe of an hundred thousand pounds sterling.

1210. *Anno. Reg.* 12.

King *Iohn* reformes *Ireland*

The Clergy pay to the K. 100000. star.

And the next yeate, being the twelfe of his raigne, with this treasure hee reduces Wales

1211. Anno. Reg. 13.

Wales (that had rebelled) to his obedience, and takes eight and twentie children of the best famelies for pledges of their future subiection. Returning thence exacts of euery Knight, that attended not his Army in that expedition two marks, and at *Northampton* is pleased to receiue the Popes Agents, *Pandolphus* and *Durandus* (sent to make peace betweene the Kingdome and Priesthood) by whose exhortation, and the consideration of the State of his Kingdome, hee consented that the Archbishop and the Monkes of Canterbury with all the exiled Bishops should in peace returne to their owne. But refusing to make satisfaction for their goods confiscated, the Agents depart vnsatisfied, to the greater preiudice of the King; whom now the Pope finding to be yeelding in any thing, falls to bee more imperious to constraine him to all whatsoeuer he desired. And absolues all the Kings subiects of what condition soeuer from their obedience, strictly forbidding them, vnder paine of excommunication, his Board, Councell, and Conference. Which notwithstanding preuayled not to diuert the subiect from the seruice of their King. Who about this time takes occasion, vpon the breaking out of certaine poore Mountainers of *Wales* that make pillage vpon the Borders, to raise another Army to inuade the whole Countrey. And being at *Nottingham*, prepared for this action (before he would sit downe to dinner) caused those eight and twenty children, the innocent pledges of the *Welsh*, to be all hanged in his presence. But before hee had dyned, letters came that gaue him intelligence of a conspiracie intended for his owne distruction; and that if he went forward in this warre, he would be either slaine of his owne people, or betrayed to the enemy. Whereupon he returnes to *London*, againe requires, and hath pledges of those Nobles he suspected, and here *Eustace de Vescy*, and *Robert Fitz Walter* are accused of the conspiracie, who fled, the one into *Scotland*, the other into *France*.

1212. Anno. Reg. 14.

1213. Anno. Reg. 15.

But now the Pope, for the last, and greatest sentence that euer yet was giuen against any Soueraigne King of this Kingdome, pronounces his absolute deposition from the Royall gouernment thereof; and writes to the King of France, *that as hee looked to haue remission of his sinnes hee should take the charge vpon him, and expell King* Iohn *out of the Kingdome of* England, *and possesse the same for him, and his heires for euer.* To the same effect sends he likewise his letters to the Princes, and great men of other Nations, *That they should ayde the King of* France *in the deiection of this contumacious King of* England, *in reuenge of the iniuries done to the Vniuersall Church; granting like remission of their sinnes as if they vndertooke the Holy warre.*

The Pope giues the Kingdome of England to the King of France.

And with this Commission is the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other exiled Bishops of *England* with *Pandolphus* dispatched to the King of *France* for the execution thereof. Which, notwithstanding, seemes rather done to terrefie King *Iohn*, then any way to aduance the King of France, whom the Pope desired not to make greater then he was, howsoeuer, to amuse the world, hee made shew to ingage him in this businesse. For he gaue a secret charge to *Pandolphus* a part, that if *vpon the preparation, and forces gathered by the King of* France *for this deiection, hee could worke the King of* England *to such conditions as hee should propound; absolution, and restorement should bee graunted vnto him.*

The King of France assembles his forces for England.

The King of *France*, vpon this act of the Pope, and the sollicitation of his Ministers, commaunds all the Princes and Nobilitie within his Dominions to assemble their forces with Horse, Armor, and all Munition to assist him in this businesse, and bee readie, vnder paine of exheredation, at the Spring of the yeare; preparing, likewise a great Nauie for the transportation of these forces into *England*. King *Iohn*, vpon intelligence hereof sends to all the Ports of his Kingdome commandement, to haue all shipping whatsoeuer possible to bee made readie with all expedition: summoning likewise *all Earles, Barons, Knights, and who else could beare Armes of any condition, to bee ready at* Douer, *presently vpon Easter, furnished with horse, armour, and all military prouision, to defend him, themselues, and the Kingdome of* England *against this intended Inuasion, vnder paine of* Culuertage, *and perpetuall seruitude.*

King *Iohns* preparations for defence.

Whereupon so great numbers resorted to *Douer*, *Feuersham*, *Ipswich*, and to other places suspected, as exceeded the meanes both of furnishment, and prouision to intertaine

tertaine them. So that multitudes were sent home againe of vnnecessarie men, and onely a choyce reserued of the ablest sort, which arose to the number of sixty thousand well appointed for battaile. Besides so mighty a nauy was made ready, as exceeded that of *France*.

And thus prepared King *Iohn* expects his enemies, when secretly, two Knights, Templars, sent by *Pandolphus* so wrought with him, as notwithstanding all this great power of his, he discends to accept of a treatie with him. whereof *Pandolphus* is presently aduertised, and withdrawes himselfe out of the *French* Kings army, comes ouer, and so terrifies King *Iohn* with the mighty forces bent against him, and the eminent daunger wherein he stood, as he yeelds to any conditions whatsoeuer propounded vnto him. And not onely graunts restitution and satisfaction of what euer had beene taken from the Archbishop, and the Monks of Canterbury; the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, *Bath*, and *Lincoln*(who were fled to the Archbishop.) But also laies downe his Crowne, Scepter, Mantle, Sword, and Ring, *the ensignes of his royalty*, at the feet of *Pandolphus* deliuering vp there with all the Kingdome of *England* to the *Pope*, and submits himselfe to the iudgement and mercy of the Church.

K. *Iohn* deliuers vp the kingdome of England with his Crowne to *Pandolphus*.

Two daies (some wright sixe) it was before the Legat restored him his Crowne: at the receiuing whereof, he swore (and his Eatles vndertaking for him) *that hee and his successors should hold the Kingdome of England, and Lordship of Ireland from the Sea of Rome, at the annuall tribute of a thousand Markes of siluer.* And this; with his homage and fealty, he confirmed by his Charter at a house of the Templars neere Douer. The especiall waights that moued King *Iohn* to this extreame lowenes, they of those times note to be. First, the consideration of his offences to God, hauing liued fiue yeates excommunicated, to the great deformity of his Kingdome. Secondly, the greatnesse of his enemy the King of *France*, and his adherence. Thirdly, the doubtfull fayth of his Nobilities, whom he had offended. Fourthly, for that the *Assencion* day was at hand; after which, one *Peter*, an Hermit and Southsayer had prophesied, he should be no more King of England. Which though mistaken in the manner, was fulfilled in a sort by this resignation, and a new condition of Estate. But the Southsayer with his Sonne, suffered shortly after the penalty of death, for his otherwise interpreted diuination.

Vide Append.

The causes that moued K. *Iohn* to this act

Now, notwithstanding this act and submission of King *Iohn*, the interdiction of the Kingdome continues, and his owne absolution deferred, till restitution, and full satisfaction were performed to the Clergy; of which, eight thousand markes of siluer was presently deliuered to *Pandolphus*; who at the receiuing thereof tramples it vnder his feete, as contemning that base matter, in respect of the grace conferred vpon the transgressor; and returnes with the same into *France*. Where hee declares what had passed in *England*: *and forbids the King of France vpon paine of excommunication, to proceed any farther in this enterprise, seeing King Iohn had thus submitted himselfe to the Church.*

Pandolplus forbids the *French* Kings proceedings.

The King of *France*, now all in readinesse for this great inuasion, and full, with hope of victory, receiuing this sodaine, and vnexpected Message grew into great rage, and was, in regard of his honour, and infinite charge, hardly diuerted from this enterprise. Yet in the end, seeing his confederates, and followers quailed with this menace of the Church, extreamely discontent, he giuesit ouer.

Norwithstandding, for his owne reputation and desire of reuenge hauing all these great forces on foote, & his nauie ready in the mouth of Seine, would vndertake something to giue satisfaction both to the aduenturers, and his owne people interressed in this action. And for that, *Ferrand* Earle of *Flanders*, adhering to king *Iohn*, refused to follow him in this expedition, on him he falls (as being next him) enters into his port of *Dam*, *vowing that Flanders should either be France, or France Flanders. Ferrand*, seeing this tempest come to light vpon him, sends for ayd to king *Iohn*; who glad, hauing escaped at home the occasion of a defensiue War, to enter into an offensiue abroad, both to imploy this great collected Nauie of his, and also put his people in action, whose dismission, without some satisfaction, he knew would breed no safe humor; dispatches fiue hundred sayle, with seauen hundred knights into *Flanders* vnder the conduct of his base brother *William Long-sword* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Reginald* Earle of *Bologn*, whom he

The French K. sets vpon *Flan.*

he had lately inrerrayned with a penſion, being for ſome demerit driuen out of *France*. And rheſe ariuing at the Port of *Dam*, where they found the *French* Nauie vnordeely diſperſed, and withour defence (their forces going out to inuade the Country) ſer vpon, and vtretly defeited the ſame, and afterward ioyning their powre with that of *Ferrand*, draue the King of *France* home with great diſhonour, and exceeding loſſe.

King *Iohn*, raiſed with this victorie, and his peace with the Church, ſets vpon great deſignes, taking oportunitie of this diſaſter of the King of *France*, whom, in reuenge of his iniurie, and hope of recouering his rranſmarine Dominions, he plots to aſſaile on all ſides: ſtirring vp his Nephew *Otho* to ayde the Earle of *Flanders*, for an Inuaſion on the Eaſt part, whilſt himſelfe withall his powre ſhould enter vpon the Weſt. For execution whereof, firſt hee ſends ſupplies of treaſure to his Chiefraines in *Flanders*, then aſſembles a great Army at *Portsmouth*, wherewith hee reſolues to paſſe the Seas.

The Nobility refuſe to ayde King *Iohn*.

But his deſigne contrarie to his deſire and haſte, came to be delayed by the withdrawing of his Nobilitie, who refuſed to ayde or attend him, vntill hee were abſolued, and had confirmed vnto them their liberties: wherewith much inraged, ſeeing no other remedie, he ſpeedily ſends for the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the other Biſhops, which were yet in *France*, promiſing them preſent reſtitution, and ſatisfaction vnder the hands and ſeales of foure and rwenty Earles, and Barons vndertaking for the perfomance rhereof, according to the forme of his Charter graunted in this behalfe. *Pandolphus* with the Biſhop and the reſt of rhe exiled Clergie, forth-with come ouer, and finde rhe King at Wincheſter, where hee goeth forth to meere them, and on his knees, wirh teares, receiues rhem, *beſeeching them to haue compaſſion on him, and the Kingdome of England.* Abſolued he is with great penitence, and compaſſion expreſt with teares of all the beholders, and ſweares vpon the Euangeliſts, *to loue, defend, and maintaine Holy Church, and the Miniſters thereof, againſt all their aduerſaries to the vtermoſt of his powre: That hee would reuoke the good Lawes of his Predeceſſors, and eſpecially thoſe of King* Edward, *abrogating ſuch as were vniuſt: Iudge all his ſubiects according to the iuſt iudgement of his Court: That preſently vpon Eaſter next following hee would make plenarie ſatisfaction of whatſoeuer had beene taken from the Church.*

1214. *Anno. Reg.* 16.

Which done, he reiurnes to *Portſmouth*, with inrention to paſſe ouer into France, committing the gouernment of the Kingdome 10 *Geffrey Fitz Peter*, and the Biſhop of Wincheſter, with charge that they ſhould order all buſineſſes, together with the Councell of the Archbiſhop of Canrerbury.

The Archbiſhop threatens to excommunicate the King.

And here a numerous company of ſouldiers repayring to him, complayned that by their long attendance their mony was ſpenr, ſo that they could nor follow him vnleſſe they mighr be ſupplied out of his Eſchequer, which the King refuſing to doe, in a great rage, with his priuate family, takes ſhip, and purs forrh to rhe Iſle of *Ierſey*, but ſeeing none of his Nobles or other to follow him, was forced (hauing loſt the oportunity of the ſeaſon) to returne into *England*; where he gathers an Army, with intention to chaſtiſe the Lords who had thus forſaken him. But the Archbiſhop of Canterbury followes him to Northampton, *Vrging that it was againſt his Oath taken at his abſolution, to proceed in that maner againſt any man without the iudgement of his Court.* To whom the King in great paſſion replyed; *That hee would not deferre the buſineſſe of the Kingdome, for his pleaſure, ſeeing Lay iudgements appertained not vnto him:* and ſo in fury marches 10 Notingham.

The Archbiſhop followes him, and plainely told him, *that vnleſſe hee would deſiſt from this buſineſſe, hee would excommunicate all ſuch, as ſhould take armes againſt any, before the releaſing of the interdiction, and would not leaue him, vntill hee had obtayned a conuenient day for the Lords to come to his Court*, which ſhortly after they did, and a Parliament is aſſembled in *Pauls*, wherein the Archbiſhop of Canrerbury produces a Charter of King *Henry* the firſt, whereby hee graunted the ancient liberties of rhe Kingdome of *England* (which had by his Predeceſſors beene oppreſt with vniuſt exactions) according to the Lawes of king *Edward*, with thoſe emendations which his father, by the Councell of his Barons did ratefie. And this Charter being read before

This Charter is recorded in *Mat. Par.* with teſtes of the Subſcribers.

before the Barons they much reioyced; *and swore in the presence of the Archbishop, that for these liberties, they would, if neede required, spend their bloud.* And there withall, concluding a confederation with the Archbishop; the Parlament brake vp.

Lagam regis Edwardi *vobis reddo cum illis emendationibus quibus pater meus eam emendauit.*

Shortly after dies, *Geffery Fitz Peter* Iusticiar of *England*, a man of a generous spirit, learned in the lawes, and skilfull in gouernment. Who in that broken time, onely held vnerased, performing the part of an euen Consellour and officer betweene the King and Kingdome, whom though the King most vsed, he most feared, and least loued, as ill Princes doe their worthiest ministers; whose grauity and iudgment may seeme to keepe them in awe. And hearing of his death, reioycing said: now when he comes into hell, let him salute the Archbishop *Hubert*, whom assuredly he shall finde there. And turning to those about him, *swore by the feet of God, that now at length he was King, and Lord of England*, hauing a freer power to vnty himselfe from those knots which his oath had made to this great man against his will, and to break all the bands of the late concluded peace, vnto which he repented to haue euer condiscended. And to shew the desperate malice of this king (who, rather then nor to haue an absolute domination ouer his people, to doe what he listed, would be any thing himselfe vnder any other that would but support him in his violences) there is recorded an Ambassage (the most base & impious that euer yet was sent by any free and Christian Prince) vnto *Miramumalim* the *Moore*, intitled the great King of *Affrica*, *Morocco*, and *Spaine*, wherein he offred to render vnto him his kingdom, and to hold the same by tribute from him, as his Soutaigne Lord: To forgoe the Christian faith (which he held vayne) and receiue that of *Mahomet*. In which negotiation, the Commissioners are named to be, *Thomas Hardington*, *Raph Fitz Nichols*, knights, and *Robert* of London Clearke, the manner of their accesse to this great King is related with the delivery of their message, and King *Iohns* Charter to that effect: and how *Miramumalim* hauing heard at large their message, and the discription both of the King and Kingdome with the nature and disposition of the people, so much disdayned the basenesse, and impiety of the offerer, as with skorne hee commanded his ministers to depart instantly out of his presence, and court. Yet afterward, to vnderstand some more particulars of the madnes of this King of *England*, he called for *Robert* the Clearke, and had priuat conference with him apart about many particulars which hee himselfe reuealed to many in the hearing of *Mathew* the monke of Saint *Albons*, who wrot and declared these things, discribing the person of this *Robert*, to be of a low stature, blacke, one arme shorter then another, two fingers vnnaturally growing together, of visage like a *Iew*, *&c.* which relation we are not vtterly to contemne, proceeding from an Author of that grauity and credit, and liuing so neere those times, though to vs that are so farre off both in fashion and faith, it may seeme improbable in some part; yet if we consider whereto the desperat violence of this King, (who had made vtter wracke of conscience, and all humane respect) might carry him, seeing himselfe in that Estate he was, we may not thinke it voyd of likelihood, to haue had this dealing with an heathen king (who, in that time, was formidable to all Christendome, and had on foot the mightiest army that euer the *Moores* had in *Spaine*) which might either be to hold amity with him, or intertayne him otherwise for his owne ends. Though for the point of offting to forgoe the Christian fayth, we may in charity forbeare to make it a part of ours. Although this relator giues vs a note (amongst other which hee suppreſt) that poynted at the irreligion of this King who at the opening of a fat Stag, iestingly said: see how prosperously this beast hath liued, and yet neuer heard Masse. Which skoff, in regard of the zeale then professed, sauored of an impiety, vnfitting the mouth of a religious King, and gaue scandall to the hearers, who tooke it according to their apprehension, apt to censure whatsoeuer comes from the mouth of Princes; which may warne them to be wary what they vtter in publique.

Vide Append.

Mat. Par.

Miramumalim scornes the Message of K. *Iohn.*

A note of the Kings irreligion.

But this Embassage, either neglected by *Miramumalim*, or disappointed by the ouer throw of his great army with the death of his Sonne, which shortly after followed) King *Iohn* sets vpon another course, assayles Pope *Innocentius* (prone to be wrought by guists to doe any thing) with great summes of money, and a reassurance of his tributary subiection, which shortly after he confirmes by a new oath, and a new Charter before

King *Iohn* bribes the *Pope* and renewes his oath.

before the Popes Legat the Bishop of *Tusculum* sent ouer for the same purpose, and with full autority to compose the dissentions betweene the Kingdome and Priesthood. Which at many Assemblies in diuers places was after debated, and in the end order was taken for a plenary satisfaction to be made for the damages done to the Church. For which the King vpon account already, had payd twenty seauen thousand Markes, and thirteene thousand more were vndertaken by Suerties to be answered by a certaine daie.

The interdiction released.

1214. *Anno.* *Reg.* 16.

And herevpon is the interdiction released, hauing continued sixe yeares three moneths and fourteene dayes, to the inestimable losse of the Church, and Churchmen, whereof an innumerable multitude of all orders now repayre to the Legat for satisfaction of damages receiued by the Kings ministers during this interdiction. To whom the Legat answeres: that it was not in his commission to deale for restititution to be made vnto them all, but aduises them to complaine to the Pope, and craue of him plenary iustice. Wherevpon they depart much discontenred, holding the Legats proceeding (for that he pleased not them) inclining onely to please the King: Who now is recommended to Rome for a most tractable obedient, and indulgent Sonne of the Church, and the Clergy heares of blame for their obstinacy vsed towards him.

Vide Append.

The King hauing referred the ending of all this controuersie to the Legat, and some other of his owne ministers (being assured of the Popes fauour) was now gone into *Poictou*, to assayle (according to his former designe) the King of *France* on that side: whilest his forces with those of the Emperour *Otho*, by the way of *Flanders*, inuaded him on the other. And being with his Queene, landed at *Rochel*, many principall Barons of *Poictou* (apter to promise then performe their faith) came and swore fealty vnto him: With whom he marches forward into the Country, recouers many Castles and peeces of importance. Whereof particularly by his owne letters from *Parthenai* he certifies his Iustices of the Eschecquer. And withall shewes them how hee had graunted to the Sonne of the Earle of *March*, his daughter *Ioan* in mariage (though laid he the King of *France* desired her for his Sonne, but fraudulently, &c.

The famous battaile of *Bouines*.

After this he goes into Brittaine, takes in the city of *Nantes*, prepares to incounter with *Louys* the *French* Kings Sonne, who was come downe with a mighty army to oppose his proceeding. But the *Poictouins* distrusting his power, or he them (hauing discouered the forces of the Enemy) refused to fight: Wherevpon the King of England to his extreame griefe, forsooke the field, and made a dishonorable truce with the King of *France*; and this was the last of his transmarine attempts. His forces in Flandets had far worse successe, for the King of *France* with all the power he could possibly make incounters them at the bridge of *Bouines*, and ouerthrew the Emperour *Otho*, and the whole army of the confederates, wherein are reported to haue beene an hundred and fifty thousand foote besides horse, and in the battaile slaine a thousand fiue hundred Knights and taken prisoners, *Ferrand* the Earle of *Flaunders* the Earles of *Salisbury*, and *Bologne*. And (as report the *Annales* of *Flanders*,) the Earle of Sauoy, the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Lamburg*, and the Earle of *Luxemburg*: the Emperour *Otho* 4. hardly escaped, and liued not long after.

The death of the Emp: *Otho*.

Vpon these misfortunes, and fearing the outrage of a necessitous and distempred King, the Barons of England assemble themselues at S. *Edmondsbury*, where they confer of the late produced Charter of *Henry* the first, and swore vpon the high Altar that if King *Iohn* refused to confirme and restore vnto them those liberties (the rights of the Kingdome) they would make war vpon him vntill he had satisfied them therein: and further agreed that after Christmas next they would petition him for the same, and in the meane time prouide themselues of horse and furniture, to be ready if the King should start from his Oath made at *Winchester* at the time of his absolution for the confirmation of these liberties, and compell him to satisfie their demand. After *Christmas* they repaire in a military manner to the King lying in the new Temple, vrging their desire with great vehemency: the king, seeing their resolution, and inclination to war, made answere *that for the matter they required hee would take consideration till after Easter next: and in the meane time, he tooke vpon him the crosse* (*rather as is said, through feare then deuotion.*)

K. *Iohn* takes vpon him the crosse to secure himselfe from the Barons.

deuotion) supposing himselfe to bee more safe vnder that protection. But the Lords continuing their resolution, forseeing nothing was to bee obtayned but by strong hand, assemble an Army at Stamford, wherein are said to bee two thousand Knights, besides Esquires with those that serued on foot: and from thence marched towards *Oxford* where the King then expected their comming, according to the appoynted time, for answere to their demands. And being come to *Brackly* with their Army, the King sends the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and *William* Earle of *Pembrooke* Mareschall, with other graue Councellors, to demaund of them, what were those Lawes, and Liberties they required, to whom they shewed a schedule of them, which the Commissioners deliuer to the King, who hauing heard them read, in great indignation asked why *the Barons did not likewise demaund the Kingdome, and swore that hee would neuer grant those liberties whereby himselfe should bee made a seruant.* So harsh a thing is it to a powre that hath once gotten out into the wide libertie of his will, to heare againe of any reducing within his circle: not considering how they who inheret Offices succeed in the obligation of them, and that the most certaine meanes to preserue vnto a King his Kingdomes, is to possesse them with the same conditions that he hath inherited them.

The resolution of the Barons assembling their army at Stamford.

A Schedule of the Demands of the Lords.

The Barons vpon this answere, being as hasty as hee was auers, resolue to seize on his Castles, and presently march towards *Northampton*, which they besiege, constituting *Robert Fitz Walter* their General, intituling him the *Mareschall of the Army of God, and holy Church.* And after they assaile the Castle of *Bedford*, where *William de Beauchamp* rendring his charge, receiues them: and the Londoners send thither priuy message to ioyne with them, and deliuer vp the Citie to be garded by their direction.

The Lords seize on the Kings Castles.

And thither they repaire, and are ioyfully receiued, vnder pact of their indemnity, where dayly increasing in number of new Confederats, they make their protestation, neuer to giue ouer the prosecution of their desire, till they had constrayned the King (whom they held periured) to grant them their Rights.

The Lords repaire to London.

King *Iohn* seeing himselfe, in a manner generally forsaken, hauing scarce seuen Knights faithfull vnto him, counterfeits the Seales of the B B. and writes in their names to all nations that the English were all Apostats, and whosoeuer would come to inuade them, he, by the Popes consent, would confer vpon them all their Lands, and possessions. But this deuise working no effect, in regard of the little confidence they had in the King, and the powre of the Kingdome: a new mediation is made to the Barons by the Earle Mareschall and others, and a Parle is had betweene Windsor, and Stanes in a Meadow called *Running-mead* (a place anciently vsed for such Conferences) where after many meetings, and much debate, the King freely consented, for the glory of God, and emendation of the Kingdome, to confirme those Lawes, and Liberties formerly restored, and in part ordayned by *Hen.* 1.

King *Iohn* forsaken of his people.

The Earle Mareschall & other mediate a reconciliation.

A Parliament for restoring the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdome.

And to the end that all discord should vtterly cease, hee grants for the intire and firme enioying these Lawes and Liberties, Securitie in this manner. *That there should be fiue and twenty Barons chosen of the Kingdome, such as they would, who should, to their vtmost power cause the same to bee held, and obserued. And that, if either the King or his Chiefe Iusticiar should transgresse in any Article of those Lawes, and the offence shewed, Foure Barons of the fiue and twenty should come to the King, or in his absence out of the Kingdome, to his Chiefe Iusticiar; and declare the excesse, requiring without delay, redresse for the same: which if not made, within the space of fortie daies after such declaration; those Foure Barons should referre the cause to the rest of the fiue and twenty, who with the Commons of the Land might distraine, and inforce him by all meanes they could* (viz. *by seizing vpon his Castles, Lands and Possessions, or other goods (his person excepted, and that of his Queene and Children) till amends should bee made, according to their arbitration. And that whosoeuer would; should take their Oath for the execution hereof, and obay the commandement of the fiue and twenty Barons herein without prohibition. And if any of them dissented, or could not assemble, the maior part to haue the same powre of proceeding.* Besides for more caution, the foure Chatelaines of the Castles of *Northampton, Kenelworth, Nottingham*, and *Skarbrough, should be sworne to obay the commandement of the Fiue and twenty Barons; or the maior part of them, in whatsoeuer they thought good concerning those Castles.*

Articles of the Agreement confirmed by King *Iohn*.

Vide Append.

Wherein none should bee placed but such as were faithfull, and would obserue their Oath, &c. That all strangers, whereof diuers are expresly nominated should bee remoue l out of the Kingdome. And a generall pardon is graunted for all transgressions committed, through the occasion of this discord, from the beginning thereof to this present time. And mutuall Oathes taken of both sides, in solemne manner, for the inuiolable obseruing all these Articles. The King likewise sends his letters Pattents to all the Shriefes of the Kingdome, to cause all men of what degree soeuer, within their seuerall Shires, to sweare to obserue those Lawes and Liberties thus granted by his Charter.

1215. *Anno.* *Reg.* 17.

And in this manner (though it were to be wished it had not beene in this manner) were recouered the rights of the Kingdome. Whereof, though they seeme to haue now the *Liuerie* they had not the *Seisin*. For presently the King being loose from the doing, which he pretends to be by force, vnlooses the Deed, and there wanted not those about him, who obseruing which way his will bent, to turne him more violently vpon that side; not in regard of his good, but their owne interests, making more profit by his irregularity then otherwise they could, of his orderly courses: *telling him, he was now a King without a Kingdom, a Lord without a Dominion, and a subiect to his Subiects.* Wicked counsellors, as if it were not enough, to be aboue men, but to bee aboue mankinde, as those Princes would be, that would be vnder no Law; considering the preseruation of Kings and Kingdoms is to haue the ballance of satisfaction, both of the one and other, equall. But by such Counsailors is he confirmed in his refractory humor. And worthily that Prince deserues to bee deceiued in his executions, who vnderstands not, as well the Counsailors, as the Councell.

King *Iohn*, by euill councell frustrates his owne Grants.

Resolued he is (giuen ouer to confusion, and reuenge) to dissolue this tye, and priuily withdrawes himselfe into the Isle of *Wight*, from whence hee sends his Agents to *Rome* (where now he could doe any thing) to complaine of this inforced act to the Pope, who by a definitiue Sentence, first condemnes and nullifies what was done, and after excommunicates the Barons: who during this absence and retire of their King, knowing the violence of his nature, and doubting their owne danger, keepe in, and about the Citie of *London*; and there vnder collour of Turnements and exercise of armes, inuite those who were abroad to resort vnto them, and so retaine themselues together in a combination for their owne defence, without seeking farther to interrupt their Kings courses, either by surprise of his person, which they, being of so great strength, might easily haue done, or vsing meanes to intercept his Agents, and take from him those Limbes of his powre that might worke to offend them.

Retires into the Isle of Wight & writes to the Pope.

The Pope excommunicates the Barons.

But this must either argue that their end was onely to haue (but what they had obtayned) the restitution of the Liberties of the Kingdome (which though thus recouered by violence they seemed desirous to hold with peace) or els their negligence; which may be thought strange in those wakefull and actiue times, to be such, as to leaue a displeased King alone to his owne working, especially remoued to a place, where the sea being open vnto him, his outsendings might bee without view or noting: vnlesse either they presumed of his little credit abroad, or their owne powre at home.

The error of the Barons.

But during this his retyre in the Isle, which was three monthes, he slacks no time to put his desires in execution, and besides his dispatch to *Rome*, sends the Bishop of *Worcester*, Chancellor of *England* the Bishop of *Norwich* and others with his seale to procure him forraine forces out of such parts beyond the seas, as held correspondency with him, appoynting them to make their repaire to *Douer* about Michaelmas next. In the mean time, without any royall shew or stir (attended with some borrowed seruants of the Bishop of *Norwich*, & marriners of the Cink-ports, whom he intertayned) he, as they write, fell to piracy & exercised himself at sea: whiles various reports are made of him here on land: some giuing out, that he was turned Fisher, some a Merchant, others a Pirate. But at the time appoynted he meetes at *Douer* with those forraine forces, drawne together, out of *Poictou* and *Gascony*, vnder the Conduct of *Saiarie de Malleon*, *Geffrey* and *Oliuer Buteuile* brothers: with others out of *Louayne*, and *Brabant*, vnder *Walter Buck*, *Gerrard Sotin*, and *Godshall*, all desperate aduenturers, leading an execrable sort of people, whose miserable fortunes at home easily drew thē to any mischiefes abroade; & with

The King sends to leauy forraine forces.

He meetes with them at Douer.

with these is King *Iohn* furnished to ser vpon his owne people. And, had not *Hugh de Boues* (to whom the Countries of Suffolke, & Norfolk were allotted for service to be done) setting foorth from Calice with 40 thousand more (men women and children) beene by sodaine tempest drowned in the Sea, hee had made an vniuersall Conquest of the Kingdome, far more miserable then the Norman; considering that with those hee had, he wrought so much as we shall heare presently he did.

Hugh de Boues with forty thousand men &c. comming out of Flanders drowned.

For, after he had recouered the Castle of Rochester which *William de Albinet*, with memorable courage, held out three monthes against all that mighty powre of his (the Barons not able or not aduenturing to succour him) hee marched ouer the most of the Kingdome, and within halfe a yeare got in all the Castles of the Barons euen to the borders of *Scotland*, and was absolute Maister of all *England* except the Citie of London, on which he forbare to aduenture, in regard of the close vnited powre of the Barons that resolutely held and vowed to die together: and seperate them hee could not, and therefore from *Rochester* he marches to Saint *Albones*, where the first publication of the Popes excommunication of the Barons is pronounced.

The King in halfe a yeare recouers all his Castles.

1216.

Anno.

Reg. 18.

And here hee deuides his Army (consisting most of rauenous strangers) in two parts: appoynting his brother *William* Earle of *Salisbury*, with *Falcasius*, *Sauarie de Malleon* leader of the *Poictouins*, *Briwer*, and *Buc* of the *Flemings* and *Brabantines*, to gard the Countries and Castles about the Citie of *London*, to cut off all prouisions, and anoy the Barons by all meanes possible: himself with the other part of his forces drawes Northward, and layes waste all the Countries before him, and both these Armies set onely vpon distruction, inflict all those calamities, that the rage of a disorderly war could commit, vpon a miserable people that made no head at all against them.

King *Iohn* at Saint Albons deuides his armie in two parts.

All Countries suffer in this affliction, and King *Iohn* marching as farre as *Berwike*, had purposed to haue carried it farther (threatning *Alexander* King of Scots *that hee would hunt the Foxe to his hole*, alluding to his red haire) had hee not beene called from that attempt to come backe to these parts vpon discouerie of new designes practised by the Barons, who seeing themselues depriued of their Estates (giuen away to Strangers) their wiues and daughters violated, all their substance consumed, desperatly fall vpon another extreme, making out for succour to *Louys* the French Kings sonne solliciting him to take vpon him the Crowne of *England*, wherein they promised by their free Election to inuest him, and to send pledges for the performance thereof, being perswaded that those forces of the French, which King *Iohn* had intertayned, would vpon the comming of those aides from the King of *France*, being their Soueraigne, forsake him. This message is intertayned, a Parliament is called at Lions by King *Philip* the father of *Louys*, the busines consulted, and resolued vpon. *Louys*, besides the assurance made of this proffered election, relies vpon a title which he claymes by his wife *Blanch*, daughter to the Sister of King *Iohn*, and writes to the Barons that hee would shortly send them succour, and not be long behinde to be with them in person.

The Barons sollicit *Louys* the French Kings sonne, to take vpon him the Crowne of England.

The intelligence of this designe is soone intimated to the Pope who presently sends his Agent to the King of *France* with letters to intreat him, not to suffer his sonne to inuade or disquiet the King of *England*, but to defend him, in regard he was a vassall of the Roman Church, and the Kingdome, by reason of Dominion, appertayning thereunto. The King of *France* answeres, *that the Kingdome of* England, *neuer was, nor is, or euer shalbe the patrimonie of Saint* Peter, *and that King* Iohn *was neuer lawfull King thereof, and if hee were, he had forfeited the same by the murther of* Arthur, *for which he was condemned in his Court, neither could he giue away the Kingdome without the consent of the Barons who are bound to defend the same. And if the Pope would maintaine this error, it would bee a pernicious example to all Kingdomes.*

The Pope writes to diuert *Louys* from the enterprise.

Herewith the Popes Agent departs vnsatisfied, *Louys* hauing first dispatched Commissioners to *Rome* to declare his right & iustifie his vndertaking, sets forth from *Calice* with 600 ships, and 80 other vessell, and Lands with his Army at *Sandwich*. King *Iohn* attends him at *Douer* with purpose to incounter him at his landing, but vpon notice of his great powre, and distrusting the faith of his mercinaries, hauing committed the keeping of the Castle of Douer to *Hubert de Burg*, forsakes the field (and with it him-

Quater Vigint. Coggis.

Louys lands in Kent 21 of May.

himselfe) retyres first to Winchester, after to Glocester, and leaues all to the will of his enemy *Louys*: who after he had obtayned the submission of all *Kent* (except the Castle of *Douer* which he neuer could get) he comes to *London*, where he is ioyfully receiued of the Barons, and vpon his Oath taken to restore their Lawes, and recouer their rights, hath homage and fealty done him as their Soueraigne Lord: thither came likewise the Earles *Warrein*, *Arundle*, *Salisbury*, *William Mareschall* the yonger with many other (forsaking King *Iohn*) and rendred themselues vnto him.

The little effect the Popes Exmunication wrought.

Guallo the Popes Agent (notwithstanding the sword was out in all the way of his passage) got to *Glocester*, shewes King *Iohn* the Popes care of him, and in solemne manner pronounces the sentence of Excommunication against *Louys* and all that tooke part with him, which though it brought him some comfort for the time, yet it tooke little or nothing from the enemy: neither could it so confirme his mercinaries, but that most of them left him, and either returned home into their Countries with such spoyles as they had, or betooke themselues to this new commer. King *Iohn* was not yet so forsaken, but that he had powre enough remayning, to infest, though not incounter his enemies, and faith he found abroad amongst many of his Ministers that well defended their charge. Douer Castle with a small company holds out, against all the force that *Louys* could bring against it. Windsor Castle garded but with 60 men could not be won with all the powre of the Barons; some other peeces, as *Nottingham* and *Lincoln* Castles made very resolute resistance. But nothing is effected, saue the ruine of the Country.

The most-yeelding and fertill parts of the Kingdome as about *Glocester*, the marches of *Wales*, *Lincolnshire*, *Cambridgshire*, *Norfolke*, *Suffolke*, *Essex*, *Kent*, and all about *London*, are the Stages of this warre, and here they act their mischiefes, which continued all that Sommer: And about the later end of October, a burning feuer makes an end of this fiery King, which tooke him vpon an extreme griefe conceiued for the losse of his carriages sunke in the Sands, passing the *Washes* betweene *Lin* and *Boston*; and was augmented by a surfeit of Peaches, & new Ale taken at the Abbay of Swineshead, from whence, in great weakenesse he is conuayed to Newarke, where, after he had receiued the Eucharist, and taken order for the succession of his sonne *Henry*, hee departs this life, hauing raigned 18 yeares, fiue monthes, and foure daies.

The death of King *Iohn*.

The Abbot of *Crockeston*, a man skilfull in physique and at that time the Kings Physition disbowelled his body, who, no doubt would haue giuen notice, to the world had his Maister (as it was in after ages vainely bruted) beene poysoned by a Monke of Swinshead Abbay, but the Writers of those times report no such matter. Howsoeuer his death takes not away the reproch of his life, nor the infamy that followes him, whereunto ill Princes are as subiect as their euill Subiects, and cannot escape the brute of a clamarous Pen. witnesse this Disticque.

Mat. Par.

Anglia sicut adhuc sordet fœtore Iohannis,
Sordida fœdatur fœdante Iohanne Gehenna.

He had issue by his wife *Isabel* (daughter to *Aymer* Earle of *Angolesme*) two sonnes *Henry* and *Richard*, also three daughters *Ioane*, *Eleanor*, and *Isabel*.

His issue.

Henry succeeded him in the Kingdome, *Richard* was Earle of *Cornewall*, and Crowned King of the *Romans*, and had issue *Henry*, and *Iohn* that died without issue, also *Edmond* Earle of *Cornewall* and others.

Iohn speed.

Ioane the eldest daughter (married to *Alexander* the second, King of *Scots*) died without issue.

Elianor the second daughter (married to *Simon* Earle of *Leicester*) had issue *Henry*, *Symon*, *Almaricke*, *Guy*, *Richard*, and *Elianor*. *Henry* slaine without issue. *Simon* Earle of *Bigorre*, and Ancestor to a Famely of the *Mountfords*, in *France*. *Almarick* first a Priest, after a Knight. *Guy* Earle of *Angleria*, in *Italy*, and Progenitor of the *Mountfords* in *Tuscaine*: and of the Earles of the *Campo Bacchi* in the Kingdome of *Naples*. *Richard* remayning priuily in *England*, and changing his name from *Mountford*, to *Wellesborne*, was Ancester of the *Wellesbornes* in *England*. *Elianor* borne in *England*, brought vp in *France*, married into *Wales* to Prince *Lewin ap Griffith*.

Isabell

Isabel their youngest daughter (married to the Emperour *Frederic* the 2) had issue, *Henry*, appointed to be King of *Sicile*, and *Margaret* wife of *Albert*, *Landgraue Thurine*. She died in child-bed after she had beene Empresse sixe yeares. He had also two naturall sonnes. *Geffrey Fitz Roy*, that transported souldiers into *France*, when *Hubert* forbad his father to goe thither: *Richard* (that married the daughter and Heire of *Fulbert de Doner* (who built *Childham* Castle) had issue by her, of which some famelies of good esteeme are descended.

Likewise one naturall Daughter *Ioane* married to *Lewin* Prince of Wales.

The end of the Life, and Raigne of King Iohn.

The Life, and Raigne of Henry the third.

THE death of King *Iohn*, though it much altered, yet it ended not the miserable businesses of the Kingdome: for *Louys*, notwithstanding held his hopes; and his party though much shaken by the sodaine Coronation of *Henry*, eldest sonne to King *Iohn*, solemnized in a great Assemblie of State at *Glocester* the 28 of October, and committed to the tutelage of the great Marshall, *William* Earle of *Pembrooke*; the maine Pillar of the father, and now the preseruer of the Crowne to his sonne, a man eminent both in courage and Councell, who with *Guallo* the Popes Legat, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Bathe*, and *Worcester* worke all meanes to draw the Barons, and as many of powre as they could to their new and naturall King from this excommunicate stranger, and his adherents. And bred great fluctuation in the mindes of most of them doubtfull what to resolue vpon, in regard of the tender youth of *Henry*, and their Oath made to *Louys*.

1216. *Anno. Reg.* 1.

Henry the 3 Crowned at Glocester.

But such was the insolence of the *French*, making spoyle and prey of whatsoeuer they could fasten on (and now inuested by *Louys*, contrarie to his Oath, in all those places of importance they had recouered) as made many of the English to relinquish their sworne fidelitie, and forsake his part. Which more of them would haue done, but for the shame of inconstancie; and the daunger of their pledges, remayning in *France*, which were great tyes vpon them. Besides, the popular bruit generally divulged concerning the confession of the Viscont *Melun* a French man, who, lying at the point of death, toucht with compunction, is laid to reueale the intention, & vow of *Louys* (which was vtterly to extinguish the English nation, whom he held vile, & neuer to be trusted, having forsaken their own Soueraign Lord) wrought a great auersion in the hearts of the English, which whither it were indeed vttered, or giuen out of purpose, it was so to be expected, according to the precedents of all in-brought fatreiners vpon the deuisions of a distracted people.

The confession of the Viscont Melun at his death.

And first *William* Earle of Salisbury, mooued in bloud to succour his Nephew, tooke away a maine peece from the side of *Louys*, and with him the Earles of *Arundle*, *Warren*; *William*, sonne and heire to the great Marshall, returne to the fidelity of *Henry*, after 6 months they had reuolted to the seruice of *Louys*, which now may be thought was don but to temporise, and try the hazard of a doubtfull game, otherwise a brother would not haue forsaken a brother, nor so Noble a father, and sonne haue deuided their starres.

Diuers Lords reuolt from *Louys*.

Notwithstanding *Louys* found hands enow to hold *London*, withall the Countries about it a whole yeare after, so that the young King was constrained to remaine about *Glocester*, *Worcester*, and *Bristow*, where his wakefull Ministers faile not to imploy all means to gather vpon whatsoeuer aduantages could be espied, & at length so wrought as they draw the enemy from the head of the kingdome downe into the body, first into Leceister-shire to releeue the Castle of *Montforell*, a peece apertayning to *Saer de Quincy* Earle of *Winchester*, a great partisan of *Louys*, and after by degrees, to *Lincoln*, where, a Noble Lady, called *Phillippa* (but of what famely, time hath iniuriously bereft vs the knowledge) had, more then with feminine courage defended the Castle, the space of a whole yere, against *Gilbert de Gant*, & the French forces which were possest of the town. The

The Earle Marshall Protector of the King and kingdom, with his sonne *William*: the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Salisbury* and *Chester*, the Earles of *Salisbury*, *Ferrers*, and *Albemarle*. *William de Albinet*, *Iohn* Marshall, *William de Cantelupe*. *Falcasius*, *Thomas Basset*, *Robert Veypont*, *Brent de Lisle*, *Geffrey Lucy*, *Philip de Albinet*, and many other Barons, and marshall men, being with all the powre of the young king (whose forces as he marched, grew dayly greater) come to a place called *Stow* within 8 miles of *Lincoln*, the Legat *Guallo* (to adde courage & resolution to the army) caused vpon confession of their sinnes, the Eucharist to be ministred and giues them a plenary absolution, solemnly accursing *Louys* with all his adherents, as seperated from the vnity of the Church, which done, they set forth, and with such violence assaile the City on all sides, as the defendants (after the Earle of *Perch*, valiantly fighting was slaine) were soone defeited, and all the principall men taken prisoners, whereof these are nominated: *Saer* Earle of Winchester, *Henry de Bohun*, Earle of *Hereford*, *Gilbert de Gant*, lately made Earle of *Lincoln* by *Louys*. *Robert Fitz Walter*, *Richard Monfichet*, *William Moubray*, *William Beauchamp*, *william Maudit*, *Oliuer Harcort*, *Roger de Cressy*, *William de Coleuile*, *William de Ros*, *Robert de Ropsley*, *Ralph Chandnit* Barons, besides foure hundred Knights or men at Armes, with their seruants, horse and foot. The number, and quality of the persons taken, shew the importance of the place, and the greatnesse of the victorie, which gaue *Louys* his maine blow, and was the last of his battailes in *England*.

The forces of *Louys* ouerthrowne.

The spoyles were very great being of a City, at that time rich in Marchandize, whereupon the winners (in derision) tearmed it *Louys his Faire*. Many of those who escaped, and fled from this ouerthrow; were slaine by the Country people in their disorderly passing towards *London*, vnto *Louys*, who vpon notice of this great defeat, sends presently ouer for succours into *France*; and drawes all the powre he had in *England*, to the Citie of *London*; whether the Earle Marshall with the young King bend their course, with purpose either to assaile *Louys* vpon this fresh dismay of his losse, and the distraction of his partakers, or induce him by agreement to relinquish the Kingdome. The first being found difficult, the last is propounded, whereunto *Louys* would not be brought to yeeld, vntill hearing how his succors comming out of France, were by *Phillip de Albenie*, and *Hubert de Burgh* with the forces of the Cinke-ports all vanquished at sea; he then hopelesse of any longer subsisting with safty, condiscendes to an accord: takes fifteene thousand markes for his voyage: abiures his claime to the Kingdome: promises by Oath to worke his father, as farre as in him lay, for the restitution of such Prouinces in France, as appertayned to this Crowne; and that when himselfe should be King, to resigne them in peaceable manner.

The spoyle of Lincolne.

The Peace was concluded the 11 of Sep.

1218. *Anno.* *Reg.* 3.

On the other part King *Henry* takes his Oath, and for him, the Legat, and the Protector, to restore vnto the Barons of this Realme, and other his Subiects, all their rights and heritages, with those liberties for which the discorde beganne betweene the late King, and his people. Generall pardon is granted, and all prisoners freed on both sides: *Louys* is honorably attended to *Douer*, and departs out of *England* about Michelmas: aboue two yeares after his first ariuall, hauing beene here, in the greatest part, a receiued King, and was more likely to haue established himselfe, and made a Conquest of this Kingdome (being thus pulled in by others armes) then the *Norman* that made way with his owne, had not the All-disposer otherwise diuerted it.

Such effects wrought the violence of an vnruly King, and the desperation of an oppressed people, which now notwithstanding the fathers iniquitie, most willingly imbrace the sonne, as naturally inclyned to loue, and obey their Princes.

And in this recouery, the industrie of *Guallo* the Legate wrought much, though what he did therein was for his owne ends, & the pretended interest of the Pope, whose ambition had beene first an especiall cause of this great combustion in the Kingdom, *but as they who worke the greatest mischiefes, are oftentimes the men that can best repaire them*, so was it in this, and therefore the lesse worthy of thankes. The Legat was well payed for his paynes, and, notwithstanding the great distresse of the Kingdome carries away twelue thousand Markes with him to *Rome*.

1219. *Anno.* *Reg.* 4.

But thus the long afflicted state began to haue some peace, and yet with many distem-

distemp ratures at the first, ere those virulent humors which the warre had bred were otherwise diuerted. For many of the Nobles who had taken part with the King, either vnsatisfied in their exspectations, or knowing not how to maintaine themselues and theirs, but by rapine; fall to mutinie, surprizing of Castles; and making spoyles in the Country, as the Earle of *Albemarle*, *Robert de Veypont*, *Foulke de Brent*, *Brian de Lisle*, *Hugh de Bailioll* with many other, but at length, they are likewise appeased. And seeing the warre must nurse whom it had bred, an Action is vndertaken for the Holy Land, whither *Ralph* Earle of *Chester*, *Saer de Quincy* Earle of Winchester, *William de Albeny* Earle of *Arundle*, *Robert Fitz Walter*, *William de Harcort* with many other, are sent with great forces: Besides to vnburthen the Kingdome, all strangers, vnlesse such as came with Merchandize, are commanded to auoyde the Land, and all meanes vsed for the regayning the ability it had lost.

The death of the Protector Earle Marshall.

And no sooner had this prouident Protector the Earle of Pembrooke setled the Kings affaires, but he dies, to the great regrate of the Kingdome; leauing behinde him a most Noble memorie of his actiue worth, and is to bee numbred amongst the examples of the best of men, to shew how much the Wisdome, and Valour of a potent Subiect may steed a distracted State in times of danger.

The King againe crowned 1. Parliament.

The Bishop of Winchester (imparting the charge with many other great Councellors) is made Protector of the young King, who in *An. Reg.* 4. is againe Crowned, and the next yeare after hath by Parliament graunted for Eteuage two Markes of Siluer of euery Knights fee, for the affaires of the Kingdome, and recouery of his transmarine Dominions, which now is designed, and *Malleon de Sauerie* the *Poictouine* with *William Longsword* Earle of *Salsburie* sent ouer into *Guien* to try the affections of that people, whom they finde, for the most part inclinable to the obedience of this Crowne. The King of *France* is required to make restitution of what hee had vsurped, but returnes answere; *that what hee had gotten both by forfeiture, and Law of Armes hee would holde.*

1220. *Anno. Reg.* 5.

To retayne amitie with *Scotland*, and peace at home, *Ioan*, the Kings Sister is giuen in marriage to *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *Margueret*, sister to the same King, to *Hubert de Burgh*, now made Iusticiar of *England*, and the especiall man who guided the greatest affaires of the Kingdome. *Wales*, reuolting vnder their Prince *Lewelin*, gaue occasion of great charge and trouble to this State in the beginning of this Kings raigne and long after, till it was wholy subdued. And a commotion in *Ireland*, made by *Hugh Lacy*, is appeased by *William* Earle of *Pembrooke* sonne to the late great Marshall, and some few yeares after hath the Kingdome a kinde of quietnesse, saue that *Falcasius* (or *Foulke de Brent*) with certaine Chatelaynes (the dregs of war) fortifying the Castle of *Belford* with some other peeces of strength, and committing many outrages, gaue occasion of businesse till they were gotten by hard assault.

1221. *Anno. Reg.* 6.

But now, the King being come to some yeares of vnderstanding, was, in a Parliament holden at *London*, put in minde by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in behalfe of the State, of his Oath made, and taken by others for him, vpon the peace with *Louys* for confirmation of the liberties of the Kingdome, for which the warre began with his father, and being the maine base wheron his owne good, and that of his people must subsist, without which the whole State would againe fall a sunder; they would haue him to know it betime, to auoyde those miserable inconueniences which the disvnion of Rule and Obedience might bring vpon them all, which though it were impiously there oppugned (as Princes shall euer finde mouthes to expresse their pleasures in what course soeuer they take) by some ministers of his (amongst whom one *William Brewer* a Councellor is named) who vrged it to haue beene an act of constraint, and therefore not to be performed; was, notwithstanding promised at that time by the King to bee ratifyed, and twelue knights, or other Legall men of euery shire, by writs charged *to examen what were the Lawes and Liberties which the Kingdome enioyed vnder his Grandfather, and returne the same by a certaine day*, and so by that vsuall shift of Prolongation the businesse was put off for that time, to the greater vexation of that following. For during all his raigne of sixe and fifty yeares (the Longest of any King of *England*) this put

1222. *Anno. Reg.* 7. 2. Parliament.

put him to the greatest imbroylemenr, made him ill beloued of his paople (euer crost in his intendements) and farre a lesse King, onely by striuing to be more then he was: the iust reward of violations. And euen this first pause, vpon the lawfull requisition thereof, turnd the bloud, & shew'd how sensible the state was, in the least stoppage of thar tender vaine: For, presently rhe Earles of Chester, & Albimarle, wirh many other great men assemble at *Lecester* with intenr to remoue from the K. *Hugh de Burgh* chiefe Iusticiar, and other officers supposed to hinder this motion. Bur the Archbishop of *Canterbury* by his spirituall power, and the rest of the nobility, more carefull to preserue the peace of the Kingdome, stood to the King, and would nor suffer any proceeding in this kind, so as the Lords effected nothing ar that time, bur were constrained to come in, and submit themselues. And here the king by parliament resumes such alienations as had bin made by his Ancesters, of what had apertayned to the Crowne, whereby he mighr haue the more meanes of his owne without pressing his subiect; but this setued not his turne.

Resumptions.

1223. *Anno.* *Reg.* 8. 3 Parliament.

The next yeare after another Parliament is held at Westminster, wherein is required the fiftieth parr of all moueables borh of the Clergy and Layetie, for the recouery of those parts in *France* withheld from this crowne by *Louys* now King, contrary to his oath and promise made here in England ar his deparrure. Which morion, though it concerned the honour and digniry of this Kingdome, (being the inherirance of the King, and the Estates of most of the Nobility, and other the subiects, who had lands and possessions in those parts, which no doubr, rhey desired to recouer with rheir vtmost means; yet would rhey not yeeld to the graunr of this subsidy bur vpon confirmation of their liberties; which in the end rhey obtayned, in the same words and forme as King *Iohn* had graunted them in the two Charters before.

And twelue Knights or Legall men are chosen in euery shire, vpon their Oath, to disparte the old forests from rhe new: and all such as were found to haue beene inforested since the first coronation of *Henry* the second to be disafforested, and disposed at their pleasure, who were to posses them. wherevpon they were layd open, plowed, and improued ro the exceeding comfort, and benefit of the subiect, whereby men, in steed of wild beasts, were sustayned, and more roome made for rhem ro vse their industry.

Disforrestations.

1225. *Anno.* *Reg.* 10. 4. Parliament.

Two yeares with great quietnesse, and generall content (the blessing of a state) these liberties were inioyed, when the King at a Parliament at *Oxford*, declaring himselfe to be of lawfull age, and free from custody, to dispose of the affayres of the Kingdome; caneells, and anulles the Charter of Forests, as graunted in his Nonage, hauing no power of himselfe, or of his Seale, and therefore of no validitie: and causes Proclamation to be made, rhat both the Clergy, and all others, if they would inioy those liberties, should renew their Charters, and haue them confirmed vnder his new Seale: for which, they were constrayned to pay, not according ro rheir ability, bur the will of the chiefe Iusticiar, *Hugh de Burgh*, ro whome is layd the blame of this mischiefe; which procured him the generall hatred of rhe Kingdome; and bread a new insurrection of the nobility, who, taking aduantage vpon a breach lately falen out, berweene rhe king and his brother *Richard* Earle of Cornwell (abour the Castle of Barkhamsted appertayning to that Earledome, which the king had commitred to the keeping of on *Walleran* a Dutchman) ioyne with the Earle, and put themselues in armes. For the king maynrayning the cause of *Walleran* commands his brother to render the Castle which he had raken from him; or else to depart the kingdome.

The reuoking the Charters of Forrests which bred a new insurrection.

The Earle answeres that he would neither doe the one or the other: without the iudgment of his Peeres; and so departes to his lodging, leauing rhe king much displeased with this answere. The chiefe Iusticiar fearing the disturbance of the peace, aduises the king sodainly to apprehend the Earle, and commit him to close custodie, but rhe Earle either through notice, or doubt therof, flies presently to Marleborough, where he findes *William* Earle *Mareshall*, his friend, and confedrate by Oath, with whom hee hastes to Sramford, and there meets with the Earles of *Chester*, *Gloster*, *Waren*, *Hereford*, *Ferrers*, *Warwicke*, with diuers Barons, and men at armes: from whence they send ro the King aduising him to right the iniurie done ro his brother. The cause whereof, they impute

to

to *Hugh de Burgh*, and not to himself, besides they require restitution to be made without delay, of the liberties of the Forrests lately cancelled at *Oxford*, otherwise they would compell him thereunto by the sword.

1226. *Anno.* *Reg.* 11.

The King, to auoyd this daunger, appoints them a day to come to an assembly at Northampton; where a concord is concluded: and to satisfie his brother, (besides the rendring vnto him his Castle) he grauntes him all that his mother had in dowre, and whatsoeuer lands the Earle of Brittaine held in England, with those of the Earle of *Bologn* lately deceased, and so the Parliament brake vp. After this the generall motion for the holy warres intertaines some time. Which so strongly wrought in that ctedelous world as sixty thousand sufficient men, are reported to haue vndertaken that voyage: of whom *Peter* Bishop of Winchester, and *William* Bishop of Excester are the leaders.

5. Parliament.

1227. *Anno.* *Reg.* 12.

The King is sollicited by *Hugh le Brun* Earle of March, who had married his Mother, and by other great men of *Normandy*, to come ouer into *France* to recouer his right, vpon the great alterations happening in those parts by this occassion.

Louys the eight (who succeeded *Phillip* the second,) being lately dead after his great siege of *Auignon*, and his warres made against the Heretickes Albegeois in Prouince, leaues the Kingdome to his Sonne *Louys* of the age of twelue yeares, in whose minority his Mother *Blanch*, taking vpon her the regency, so discontented the Princes of the bloud, as they oppose themselues against her, holding it both dishonorable and daungerous, that a woman and a stranger by the Councell of *Spaniards* (whom she aduanced aboue the Naturalls of the Kingdome) should gouerne all according to her pleasure, and therefore enter league against her. The chiefe of whom were *Phillip* Earle of *Bologne*, vncle, by the Father, to the King: *Robert* Earle of *Champaigne*, *Peter de Dreux* Duke of *Britagne*, and *Robert* Earle of *Dreux* his brother, and with these *Hugh* the Earle of *March* takes part, in regard the Queen Regent had erected the Country of *Poictou* to a Conty, and made Earle thereof *Alphonso* her Sonne, brother to the young king, whereby finding himselfe inclosed within that County, he refuses to acknowledge *Alphonso* for Lord: instigated thereunto by his wife, a Queene *Dowager* of England, who could not comport a superior so neere her doore, in so much as they likewise draw in the Earle of *Lusignan*, brother to the Earle of *March*, who also, presuming vpon the greatnesse of his house discended of kings, was apt to take their part; and these with the Earle of *Britagne* call in the King of England. Who after he hed exacted great sums of the Clergy, of the Citie of London for redemption of their liberties, and taken the third part of al the goods of the Iewes, passes ouer with an Army, lands at Saint *Mallos*, is met by many Nobles of *Poictou*, who with the Earle of *Britagne* doe homage vnto him, and great preparations are made to recouer such peeces as had beene obtayned by the late King of *France*.

French Hist.

The Queene Regent sets out a powerfull army to stop the proceeding of the King of England, and much mischiefe is wrought on both sides in *Poictou*, *Xaintonges*, *Angoumois*, where their friends and enemies suffer all a like. At length, seeing no great good to arise by their trauaile, both weary of the busines, either a peace, or truce is concluded.

The King of England besides an infinite expence of treasure hauing lost diuers of his Nobles and other valiant men in the iourny, without any glory returnes home, bringing with him the Earle of *Britagne* and many *Poictouins* to receiue their promised rewards, which, notwithstanding all the former expence must be wrung out of the substance of the poore subiect of *England*.

Vpon his returne hee intertaines a purpose of Marriage with a sister of the King of *Scots*, against which, the Earles, and Barons of England generally oppose; alledging it to be vnfit that he should haue the younger Sister, when *Hubert* his chiefe Iusticiar, had maryed the eldest: and the Earle of *Britagne*, by whose Councell he was now much directed, dissuades him likewise from it. To this Earle (after supplies obtained towards his expences, and debts in *France*) he giues fiue thousand markes, as if remayning of the summe hee had promised. And for the rest of the *Poictouins*, their preferments and rewards were to be had by the displacing and spoyles of his Officers, Receiuors, and others whom now hee calles to accoumpt, and castes for defrauding him in

The King calls his officers to accoumpt.

1228. Anno. Reg. 13.

in their offices, of whom *Ralph Breton* treasorer of his Chamber is first, who was committed to prison and grieuously fined: then *Hubert de Burgh* his chiefe Iusticiar, (a man who had long ruled all vnder him in a place euer obnoxious to detraction and enuy) is called to accoumpt for such treasure as passed his office (which was then for all reliefes, and subsidies whatsoeuer rayfed on the subiect) and, notwithstanding he had the kings Charter for it during life, yet is he thrust out of his office, and besides accused of haynous crymes of treason.

No sooner was this great officer, and inward councellor falne into the Kings displeasure, but presently a whole volly of accusations (which feare in time of fauour held in) were discharged vpon him, and euery act of his examined, and vrged according to the passion of the complainers. The city of London laies to his charge the execution of their citizen *Constantine* (in the time of a ryot committed betweene their people and those of Westminster at a wrastling in Saint *James* feilds, *Anno. Reg.* 4.) as done without warrant and law, and craue Iustice for his bloud. *Hubert*, to auoyd this sodaine storme comming vpon him, fled to the Church of *Merton* for Santuary, whence, by armed men sent to pursue him, he is drawne out by force, and committed to prison. Of which violence done contrary to the priuiledge of that sacred place, the Bishop of *London*, in whose dioses it was, complaines, and so wrought that he is brought back againe to the same chappell. But yet all that could not shelter him from the Kings wrath, who giues strict commandement to the Shriefes of *Hartford* and *Sussex* to set a guard about the place, that no sustenance be brought him. Hunger inforces him to commit himselfe to the Kings mercy, and away is he sent prisoner to the *Vize*, his money, left in the custody of the templars, is brought forth, and seazed into the Kings hands; clayming that, and much more as stolne out of his exchequer. *Stephen de Segraue* is put into his office, a worse minister for the common-wealth (which seldome gaynes by such shiftings) and who must shortly runne the same fortune. *Walter* Bishop of *Carliel* is likewise thrust out of his office of Treasorer, and *William Rodon* Knight, of his place of Marshall of the kings house, and all the chiefe Councellors, Bishops, Earles and Barons of the Kingdome, are remoued, as distrusted, and onely strangers preferred to their roomes. *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, lately returned from the holy warres to be the author of most vnholy discord at home, is charged to be the cause hereof, and with him, one *Peter de Riuallis*, now the sepeciall minion about the King.

The King remoues his officers.

These straines of so strange and insufferably violences so exasperate the Nobility, as many (whereof *Richard*, now Earle Marshall vpon the death of his brother *William* was chiefe) do combine themselues for defence of the publique, and boldly do shew the King *his error, and ill aduised course, in preferring strangers about him, to the disgrace and oppression of his naturall liege people, contrary to their lawes and liberties, and that vnlesse he would reforme this excesse, whereby his crowne and Kingdome was in eminent daunger, he and the rest of the nobility would withdraw themselues from his councell*, whervnto the Bishop of Winchester *replies: that it was lawfull for the King to call what strangers he listed about him for defence of his crowne and Kingdome, thereby to compell his proud, and rebellious subiects to their due obedience.* With which answere the Earle, and the rest, depart with more indignation: vowing that in this cause, which concerned them all, they would spend their liues.

The Lords combine for the publike defence against the K.

Herevpon the King sodenly sends ouer for whole legions of *Poictouins*, and withall sommons a Parliament at *Oxford* whether the Lords refused to come, both in regard they found themselues dispised, and holding it not safe by reason of those multitudes of strangers. Then was it decreed by the Kings Councell that they should be the second and third time sommoned, to try whether they would come or not. And here, from the Pulpit, whence the voyce of GOD and the people is vttered, the King is boldly shewed the way to redresse this mischiefe of the Kingdome, by one *Robert Bacon* a Fryer Predicant: but more comically by *Roger Bacon*, (in pleasant discourse) asking the king: *my Lord, what is most nocent to Sea-men, and what feared they most*, the King replies: Seamen know that best themselues; then, my Lord I will tell you: *Petræ et Rupes*, alledging to *Petrus de Rupibus* Bishop of *Winchester*.

The Lords refuse to come to Parliament vpon summons

After

After this, the Lords were summoned to a Parliament at Westminster: whether likewise they refused to come, vnles the King would remoue the Bishop of *Winchester*, and the *Poictouines* from the court: otherwise, by the *Common-councell* of the Kingdome they send him expresse word, they would expell him, and his euill councellors out of the land and deale for the creation of a new King. 1232. *Anno.* *Reg.* 17.

Vpon this threatning, pledges are required of the nobility to be deliuered by a certeine day for security of their alleagiance. But no act passed in this Parliament though diuers Lords came thither, as the Earle of *Cornewall*, *Chester*, *Lincoln*, *Ferrers*, and others, in regard the Earle Marshall, the Lord *Gilbert Basset*, and other Nobles were not present. Then are Writs sent out to all who held by knights seruice to repaire to the King at *Gloccester* by a certaine day: which the Earles *Mareschall* and his associates refusing, the King without the iudgement of his court, and their Peeres, cause to be proclaimed outlawes, seizes vpon all their lands; which he giues to his Poictouines, and directs out Writs to attach their bodies wheresoeuer in the kingdome. 6. Parliament.

The Bishop of *Winchester* to weaken the party of the *Mareschall*, wonne the Earles of *Chester* and *Lincoln* with a thousand markes, and the King had so pleased his brother the Earle of *Cornewall*, as hee likewise left them. Wherevpon they withdraw them into *Wales*, and confederat with *Lewelin*, and other great men in that country, (whither also came *Hubert de Burgh* escaping out of the *Vize* Castle; and ioynes with them) taking their oath intermutually, that no one without other should make their accord.

The King goes himselfe in person with an Army, against these revolted Lords, into *Wales*, Where he had the worst of the busines, and much dishonour, returnes to *Gloccester*, imployes new forces of strangers, but all without successe. Wherevpon a Fryer of the Order of Minors is imployed to confer with the Earle *Mareschall*, and to perswade him to come in, and submit himselfe to the kings mercy, whom he had heard to say, that notwithstanding his great offences, he would pardon, and restore to his estate vpon submission; and besides giues him so much of *Herefordshire*, as should conueniently mayntaine him. Besides the Fryer told him what he heard of other Councellors about the King, concerning the wishing of his submission, and in what forme they desired it should be imparted in priuat. And then, as of himselfe, he vses all inducements possible to draw him thereunto, shewing how it was his duty, his profit, and safty so to doe. Wherewithall the Earle nothing moued, told the Fryer what iniuries hee had receiued, and that hee could not trust the King so long as hee had such Councellors about him: who onely sought the distruction of him, and his associats, who euer had beene his loyall subiects. And after many obiections made by the Fryer with vrging the Kings power, his owne weakenes, and the danger hee was in: the Earle concludes that he feared no daunger: that he would neuer yeeld to the Kings Will, that was guided by no reason: that he should giue an ill Example to relinquish the iustice of his cause to obay that Will which wrought all iniustice, whereby it might appeare, they loued worldly possessions more then right and honor, &c. The K. with an army against the Lords. *Vide* Append.

So nothing was done, the war continues with much effusion of bloud, all the borders of *Wales* vnto *Shrowesbury*, are miserable wasted, and made desolate. At length meanes is vsed to draw the Earle *Mareschall* ouer into Ireland to defend his estate there, which was likewise seized vpon, by authority giuen vnder the Kings hand and Seale, and all those great possessions discended vnto him from his Ancestor the Earle *Strongbow* (the first conquerors of that country) spoyled, and taken from him. And here, seeking to recouer his liuelihood hee lost his life circumuented by treachery: his death gaue occasion of griefe both to his friends and enemies. The king disauowes the sending of this commission into *Ireland* protesting hee neuer knew thereof, and discharges himselfe vpon his councellor. A poore shift of weake Princes. 1234. *Anno.* *Reg.* 19.

After two yeares affliction, a Parliament is assembled at Westminster, wherein the Bishops gravely admonish the King (by his Fathers example, and his owne experience, of the mischiefe of dissention betweene him, and his Kingdome, occasioned through the ill councell of his ministers) to be at vnion with his people, to remoue from him strangers, and others, by whose instigation, for their owne ends, these disturbances are 7 Parliament.

fostered,

fostered, and his naturall Subiects estranged from him, to the great alienation of their affections, which was of dangerous consequence. Wherefore (after recitall of the Greeuances of the State, and the abuses of his Ministers, which were such as all corrupted times produce) they humbly besought him to gouerne his, according to the example of other Kingdomes, by the natiues of the same, and their Lawes: otherwise they would proceed by Ecclesiasticall censure, both against his Councellors, and himselfe.

The King seeing no way to subsist, and get to his ends but by temporizing, consents to call home these Lords out of Wales, restores them to their places and possessions, amoues those strangers from about him, and calls his new Officers to accompt. The Bishop of *Winchester*. *Peter de Riuallis* and *Stephan Segraue* thereupon take Sanctuarie, but afterward, vpon mediation they obtayned, with great fines, their Liberty, dearely paying for their two yeares eminency and grace.

Things thus appeased the King giues his sister *Isabel* in marriage to the Emperour *Frederic* the second (successor to *Otho*, and grand-child to *Frederic Barbarossa*) the Archbishop of *Cologne* and the Duke of *Louaine* were sent for her. Shee is conducted by the King her brother to *Sandwich* with three thousand horse. The marriage is solemnised at *Wormes*. She was the third wife of this Emperour, an alliance that yeelded neither strength or benefit (though that were both their ends) to either Prince. The continuall broyle which this Emperour held with all the Popes of his time, *Innocent* the third, *Honorius*, *Innocent* the fourth *Gregorie* the ninth) was such and so great as all hee could doe, was not enough for himselfe. For not to let goe that hold of the Empire he had in *Italie*, with his hereditarie Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicil* which the Popes wrought to draw to the Church, he was put to be perpetually in conflict, neuer free from vexations, thrust from his owne courses, enioyned to vndertake the Holy warres, to waste him abroade, weakened at home by excommunications, and fines for absolutions, for which, at one time hee payde eleuen thousand markes of Gold. And in the end the Popes so preuayled that in the Graue of this *Frederic* was buried the Imperiall Authority in *Italy*, after hee had thus taigned foure and thirty yeares, leauing his sonne *Conrad* successour rather of his miseries then his inheritance. Hee had a sonne by *Isabel* named *Henrie*, to whom hee bequeathed the Kingdome of *Sicile*, and a hundred thousand ounces of Gold, but hee liued not to enioy it.

Isabel the Kings Sister married to the Emperor.

To the marriage of this Sister, the King giues thirty thousand markes, besides an Imperiall Crowne and other ornaments of great value: towards which, is raysed two Markes vpon euery Hide Land. And the next yeare after, himselfe marries *Elianor* daughter to *Raymond* Earle of Prouince, a match in regard of the distance of the place, with the meanes and degree of Estate, little aduantagious either to him, or his Kingdom, but the circumstance of alliance drew it on, with some other promises which were not obserued. So, that hee is neither greater, nor richer by these alliances but rather lessened in his meanes, hauing no dowre with his wife, full of poore kindred, that must draw meanes from this Kingdome.

1236. *Anno.* *Reg.* 20.

After the solemnization of this marriage (which was extraordinarily sumptuous) a Parliament is assembled at London, which the King would haue held in the Towre, whither the Lords refusing to come, another place, of more freedome, is appoynted: where, after many things propounded for the good of the Kingdome order is taken that all Shriefes are remooued from their Offices vpon complaint of corruption; and others of more integritie, and abler meanes (to auoyde briberie) put in their roomes, taking their Oathes to receiue no guifts, but in victualls, and those without excesse.

Shriefes remoued for corruption.

Here the King displaces his Steward, and some other Councellors, and offers to take from the Bishop of Chichester, then Chancellor, the great Seale, but the Bishop refuses to deliuer it, alledging, how hee had it by the common Councell of the kingdome, and without assent of the same, would not resigne it, and hauing carried himselfe irreprehensible in his Office, is much fauoured by the people. *Peter de Riuallis*, and *Stephan Segraue*, are againe receiued into grace: an argument of the kings leuitie, and

and irresolution, moued, it seemes, with any Engine to doe and vndoe, and all out of time and order, wherein he euer looses ground.

And now faine would he haue reuoked, by the Popes Authority, some grants of his made heretofore, as being don beyond his powre, & without the cōsent of the Church; which harsh intention addes more to the already conceiued displeasure of the people.

Anno Reg. 21. another Parliament; or the same adiourned is held at *London*, where, in regard of the great expence for his Sisters marriage, and his owne, hee requires the thirtith part of all moueables, as well of the Clergie as Layetie. Whereunto great opposition is made, and recitall of the many Leuies had beene exacted of the Kingdome, now of the twentith, now of the thirtith, and fortith parts: and that it was a thing vnworthy and iniurious, to permit a King, who was so lightly seduceble, and neuer did good to the Kingdome, either in expelling, or repressing enemy, or amplyfing the bounds thereof, but rather lessening and subiugaring the same to Strangers, that he should extort by so many pretences, so great summes from his naturall people (as from slaues of the basest condition) to their detriment, and benefit of *Aliens*. Which when the King heard, desirous to stop this generall murmur, promised by Oath that he would neuer more iniurie the Nobles of the Kingdome, so that they would benignly releeue him at that present, with this supply: in regard he had exhausted his treasure, in the mariage of his Sister, and his owne: whereunto they plainely answere, *that the same was done without their Councell, neither ought they to be partakers of the punishment, who were free from the fault.* After 4 daies consultation, the King promising to vse only the Councell of his naturall Subiects, disauowing and protesting against the reuocation lately propounded, and freely granting the inuiolable obseruation of the Liberties, vnder paine of excommunication, hath yeelded vnto him the thirtith part of all moueables (reseruing yet to euery man his ready coyne, horse, and armour to be imployed for the Common-wealth. For the collection of this subsidy, it was ordayned that 4 Knights of euery Shire, and one Clerke of the Kings should vpon their Oath receiue and deliuer the same, either vnto some Abbay ~~or Castle, to be~~ reserued there; that if the King fayle in performance of his Grants, it might be restored to the Country whence it was collected: with this condition often annexed, ~~that the~~ King should leaue the Councell of *Aliens*, and onely vse that of his naturall Subiects. Wherein to make shew of his part, he sodainly causes the Earles *Warren* and *Ferrers*, with *Iohn Fitz Geffrey* to be sworne his Councellors. And so the Parliament ended, but not the businesse for which it was called, the King not giuing that satisfaction to his subiects as he had promised concerning Strangers, and besides, that order concluded in Parliament was not obserued in the leauying and disposing of the subsidie, but stricter courses taken in the valewing of mens Estates then was held conuenient. Moreouer *William Valentine* Vncle to the young Queene, is growne the onely inward man with the King, and possesses him so, as nothing is done without his Councell: the Earle of Prouince, the father; a poore Prince, is inuited to come ouer to participat of this Treasure, which seemes was disposed before it came in. *Simon de Monford* a French man borne (banished out of *France* by Queene *Blanch*) is intertayned in *England*, and preferred secretly in marriage to *Elianor* the Kings Sister (widow of *William* Earle of *Pembroke* Great Mareschall) and made Earle of *Leicester* by right of his mother *Amice* daughter to *Blanchman* Earle of *Leicester*. Which courses (with other) so incense the Nobility; and generally all the Subiects, as put them out into a new commotion. and *Richard* the Kings brother (whose youth and ambition apt to be wrought vpon, is made the head thereof; who being as yet Heire apparant of the Kingdome (the Queen being yong and child-lesse) the preseruation of the good thereof, is argued to concerne him, and hee is the man imployed to the King to impart the publike greeuances; and to reprehend, first the profusion of his Treasure (gotten by exaction from the subiect) and cast away vpon Strangers who onely guide him, then the infinite summes hee had raised in his time: How there was no Archbishopricke or Bishopricke, except Yorke, Lincolne & Bathe, but he had made benefit by their Vacancies: besides what fell by Abbayes, Earldomes, Baronies, Wardships and other Escheates, and yet his treasure, which should be

9 Parliament 1237. *Anno. Reg.* 21.

Foure knights of euery shire ordained to take charge of the subsidy.

The comming of *Simon Monford* into England.

The Greeuances of the Kingdome.

be the strength of the State, was nothing increased. Moreouer how hee as if both dispising his, and the Councell of his naturall Subiects, was so obsequious to the will of the *Romans*, and especially of the Legat whom he had inconsiderately called in, as hee seemed to adore his footsteps, and would doe nothing either in publique or priuate, but by his consent, so that he seemed absolutely the Popes Feudarie, which wounded the hearts of his people. The King vpon this harsh remonstrance of his brother, and the feare of a present commotion, after he had sounded the affections of the *Londoners*, whom he found resolued to take part against him, hee againe (by the aduice of the Legat, who had earnestly delt with the Earle of Cornwall to reconcile himselfe to his brother, but without effect) calls a Parliament at London. Whither the Lords came armed both for their owne safte, and to constraine the King (if he refused to the obseruation of the premices, and reformation of his courses.

1238. *Anno. Reg.* 22.

10 Parliament

Here, after many debatements the King (taking his Oath) to referre the *businesse* to the order of certaine graue men of the Kingdome, Articles are drawne, sealed, and publikely set vp to the view of all, with the seales of the Legat, and diuers great men. But before it came to effect, *Simon Monford* working his peace with the Earle of *Cornwall*, and the Earle of *Lincolne* likewise (with whom he and the State were displeased) the Earle growes cold in the businesse. The Lords perceiuing the staffe of their strength to faile them, failed themselues, so that nothing is effected, and the miseries of the Kingdome continue as they did.

Shortly after, the King takes displeasure against *Gilbert* Earle of Pembrooke (the third sonne of *William* the great Mareschall) and caused his gates to bee shut against him at Winchester, whereupon the Earle retyres into the North. And to shew how inconstant this King was in his fauours, *Simon Norman* (intituled Maister of the Kings Seale, and not onely so, but said to be Maister of the Kingdome; yea of the King, the Rector, and Disposer of Court) is throwne out with disgrace, the Seale taken from him, and giuen to the Abbot of Euesham. In like sort, his brother *Geffrey* a Knight Templar is put out of the Councell, both of them much maligned by the Nobilitie; who had often before laboured their amouement, as held to be corrupt Councellors, and wrongers of the State, and now are they falne off themselues. But the cause of this their deiection may shew, that oftentimes Officers vnder weake Princes are not so much faulty, as the World holds them to be: for not yeelding to passe a Grant from the King made vnto *Thomas* Earle of *Flaunders* (the Queenes Vncle) of 4 pence vpon euery sacke of Wooll (an enormious act then accompted) they both lost their places, though not their repurations in this; their fall discouering what the Enuie that attended their fortune, hindred men to see. To this Earle of *Flanders* the next yeare after the King grants (notwithstanding) 300 Markes (to bee payd out of his Eschequer annually, for his homage.

1239. *Anno. Reg.* 23.

Thomas of Sauoy marrieth the inheretrix of the Earledome of Flanders, which he held but during her life.

Now, besides the great exactions of the King, and his wastes. The Sea of Rome extorts huge summes, as if one Gulph sufficed not to swallow vp the substance of the Kingdome, which opened the mouthes of out Clergie so wide; as they let out many exclamations against the auarice of the Popes of that time: and the *Roman* Factors, who by permission of the King, or by his negligence, presumed so farre vpon the easi-yeeldingnesse of the State, as they wrung our what they listed. In so much, as besides the fleece, they would now haue the bodies of their possessions. And the Pope sends his Mandat to haue three hundred *Romans* preferred to the benefices which should bee first vacant in *England*, which so amazed the Clergie, and especially *Edmond* Archbishop of Canterburie, as hee; seeing no end of these concussions of the State, and Liberties of the Church: and himselfe (on whom the Scandall of all must light, vnable by reason of the Kings remissnesse to withstand it, tyred with the vanity of worldly actions) giues ouer all; and betakes himselfe to a voluntarie exile in the Abbay of *Pontiniac* in *France*; and there applies him to the contemplation of a better life. But before his departure, he yeelds, as a ransom for his Church, 800 Markes to the Pope.

Edmond Archbishop of Canterbury giues ouer his Sea.

The Clergie, although thus left by their head, generally oppose what they could, against

against the Popes rapine, who to get money for his wars with the Emperor vsed dayly new and insolent pressures vpon them, in so much as they repaire to the King, declare how preiudiciall, and derogatory it was to his royaltie, and the liberty of the Kingdom to suffer this proceeding, which none of his Predecessors heretofore euer did: and of how dangerous consequence it was to his successors. The King, either not apprehensiue of the mischiefe, or content to ioyne with the Pope to punish and awe the Kingdome, not onely refers them to the Legat, but offers to deliuer the chiefe opposers vp vnto him. Whereupon they seeing themselues forsaken, and no powre to succor them but their owne, did what they could to withstand the Legats proceeding, who now by the Kings animation presumes more peremptorily to vrge them to supply the Popes present occasion, and holds a Conuocation at *London* for effecting the same. Wherein the Clergie declare how this contribution now required by the Pope for the destruction of the Emperor, and effusion of Christian bloud was vnlawfull, hee being not an Heretike, nor condemned by the iudgement of the Church although excommunicated: That it was against the Liberties of the Church of England, being required vnder paine of Ecclesiasticall censure, as a thing of seruitude and compulsion: That they had heretofore giuen a Tenth to the Pope, on condition, that neuer any such exaction should againe be made, least it might be drawne to a Custome, for as much as *binus actius indicat consuetudinem*: That for their businesse in the Court of *Rome*, they were to passe through the Emperours Countries, and the daunger they might haue thereby: That it was not safe for the Kingdome to impouerish the King, who had many enemies, against whom hee must haue to sustaine warre: And besides how for the furnishing of diuers Noble men, vndertaking of late the businesse of the Crosse, great contributions had beene made: That the Church of *England* was poore, and hardly able to sustaine it selfe. That a generall contribution was to bee made by a generall Councell, *&c.*

Pope *Gregory* the 9.

Cod. de Episcopal. *L. Nemo.*

Notwithstanding these reasons, though at first they staggered the Legat, yet such course was taken by winning some of them, vpon hope of preferment, as the rest could not without the note of conrumacie but yeeld perforce, so, by this treason of deuision, the body of the Councell is entred into, and the Pope preuailes in this businesse.

The King hath now a sonne lately borne, and *Richard* his brother Earle of *Cornwall* hauing likewise issue (by permission of the State which, heretofore hee could not obtaine) vndertakes the Crosse, and with him his Vncle *William Longsword* Earle of *Salibury*, and many other Noblemen. These departing out of *England*, *Peter* of *Sauoy*, another Vncle to the Queene, comes in, and hath the Earledom of *Richmond* bestowed on him, with many other gifts, he is knighted and feasted suptuously, for which the poore Iewes by way of redemption, pay 20 thousand Markes at two tearmes of that yeare. *Boniface*, the sonne of *Peter* of *Sauoy*, Nephew to the Queen is preferred to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*. After this the King makes an expedition into *Wales*, which had often put him to great charge and trouble, hauing beene very vnfortunate, in his many attempts against *Lewellin*, intituled Prince, or King of North-Wales; who being lately dead, had left his two sonnes *Dauid*, and *Griffin* by deuision of State to bee at discord betweene themselues, whereby hee came to make an easier end of that businesse, and now onely but with the shew of his powre, got that, which, heretofore hee could not with much bloud; hath submission, and fealty rendred vnto him by *Dauid*, withall his charges for that iourney, but now this ended, another attempt of greater expence, but lesse benefit is in hand.

Edward eldest sonne to King *Hen.*

Richard Earle of Cornwall vndertakes the Crosse.

1241. *Anno.* *Reg.* 25.

The Earle of March with his wife, the Queene Mother, and many other Great Lords of *Poitou*, so worke by their earnest solicitation, with assurance of successe, as the King is induced to vndertake another expedition into *France*. The matter is mooued in Parliament, generall opposition made against it, the great expence, and the ill it last brought to the Kingdome, vehemently vrged, *How it was vnlawfull to breake the truce made with the King of* France, *who was now too strong for them to doe any good, &c.*

1t Parliament

Notwithstanding many of the greatest Peeres, drawne by faire promises, and their owne

owne hopes for recouerie of their Estates so preuaile as the action is resolued on, and an Ayde demaunded for the same. The very motion for money was so distasteful, as presently all the Kings supplies made from the beginning of his raigne, are particulerly againe, & opprobriously rehersed, as the 13.15.16 and 40 part of all mens moueables, besides Carucage, Hydage, Escuage, Escheates, Amercements, and such like, which could not but fill his Coffers. Then the Popes continuall exactions, with the infinite charge for those who vndertooke the Holy warre, are likewise repeated. Besides they declare, how the 30 leuied about foure yeares past (in regard it was to bee layde vp in certaine Castles and not to bee issued but by the allowance of foure of the Peeres) was, as they held it yet vnspent: the King, to their knowledge, hauing had no necessarie occasion to imploy the same for the vse of the Commonwealth, for which it was graunted, and therefore resolutely they denyed to yeeld him any more. Whereupon the King comes himselfe to the Parliament and, in most submissiue manner craues their ayde at this time, vrging the Popes letter, which hee had procured to sollicite and perswade them thereunto. But all preuailed not, their vow made to each other not to disseuer their voyces, or to be drawne to a disvnion held them fast together. In so much as the King is driuen to get what hee could of particular men, either by guift or loane, and vses such meanes, as notwithstanding, he carries ouer with him thirty Barrells of sterling coyne, and taking with him his Queene, leaues the gouernment of the Kingdome to the Archbishop of Yorke, hauing first, for his better quiet at home, contracted a match betweene his daughter *Margueret* (yet an infant) and *Alexander* eldest sonne to *Alexander* 3 King of Scots to whom he commits the gouernment of the Marches.

A repetitiõ of the Kings supplies formerly made.

The King carries ouer 30 Barrells of siluer into France.

This second expedition into *France*, had no better successe then the first. For therein he likewise consumed his treasure vpon strangers, discontented the English Nobility, was deceiued in his trust by the *Poictouines*, who failed him with his money, and after more then a whole yeares stay (the Lords of *England* leauing him) was driuen to make a dishonorable truce with the King of *France*. And after hauing beene releeued with much prouision out of *England*, and another imposition of Escuage, hee returnes, puts the Iewes to another redemption; exacts of the *Londoners*; is visited by his wiues mother, the Countesse of Prouince, who, bringing with her *Zanchia* her daughter, is (to adde to his other expencesses) sumptuously feasted, & a marriage solemnized betweene the young Lady and *Richard* Earle of Cornewall, whose wife was late dead, and he returned from the Holy warres.

The Kings second expedition into France.

An imposition of Escuage with another redemption of the Iewes.

The Countesse of Prouince mother to the Queen comes ouer into England to the great charge of the Kingdome.

The olde Countesse at her returne is presented with many rich guists, hauing besides, receiued an annuall pension of 4000 Markes out of *England* for fiue yeares passed, in consideration of a pact made, that King *Henry* should, after her discease haue the Earledome of Prouince. But shortly after her returne home, she disappoints him of that hope; and bestowes the same with her youngest daughter *Beautrix*, on *Charles* the French Kings brother, who was after King of Naples, and Sicile. So that she liued to see all her foure daughters Queenes; *Richard* Earle of Cornwall comming afterward to be elected King of the Romans.

1244. *Anno. Reg.* 28. 12 Parliament

Meanes now, vpon these profusions, to haue fresh supplie of Treasure, was onely by way of Parliament which is againe in *Anno Reg.* 28. assembled at *Westminster*, and therein the Kings wants, and the present occasions vrged for the necessarie defence of the Kingdome, hauing now to doe with *Wales* and *Scotland*, whose Princes lately reuolting, ioyne together to annoy the same; but nothing could bee effected without the assurance of reformation, and the due execution of the Lawes, notwithstanding the King comes againe himselfe in person, as before, and pleades his owne necessities. Here they desire to haue ordayned that foure of the most graue and discreet Peeres should be chosen as Conseruators of the Kingdome, and sworne of the Kings Councell, both to see Iustice obserued, and the Treasure issued, and these should euer attend about the King or at least 3, or 2 of them. Besides that the Lord Chiefe Iusticiar, and the Lord Chancellor should bee chosen by the generall voyces of the States assembled, or else bee one of the number of those foure.

Besides

Besides they propound that there might bee two Iustices of the Benches, two Barons of the Eschequer: and one Iustice for the Iewes, and those likewise to bee chosen by Parliament. *That as their function was publike, so should also be their Election.*

But whilst these things were in debating, the enemy of mankind and disturber of Peace, the Deuill, sairh *Mat. Paris*, hindred the proceeding, by the comming of *Martin* a new Legat sent from the Pope with a larger powre then euer any before, to exact vpon the State; which hee supposed now to haue beene so wrought, and ready, as rhe Kings turne being seru'd, his likewise should bee presently supplied. Bur making roo much haste before the first had passage, hee frustrates his owne desire, and receiues a most peremptory repulse of the whole Kingdome, in so much as his Agent was disgracefully returned home with rhis displeasing message. *That the Kingdome was poore: had great warres, the Church in debt, not able to yeeld any more. Besides this course was of daungerous consequence to this State, which alone seemed exposed to the Popes will, and therefore seeing a generall Councell was shortly to bee held at* Lyons, *if the Church would bee relieued, it were fit the same should bee done by a generall consent in that Councell.*

Besides, at this time rhe Emperour *Frederic*, by his Letters which were openly read in this Assembly, first *intreates, as before he had oftentimes done, that the Pope might haue no supplies out of* England, *which (he sayd) were only required to ruine him, whom contrarie to all Pietie and Iustice hee had oppressed, by seizing vpon his Cities, and Castles appertayning to the Empire. And for many yeares (notwithstanding his often submission and desire of Peace) proceeded in all foule and Hostile manner against him, both by the sword, and vniust excommunications. And seeing hee could obtaine no due hearing, hee had referred his cause to bee arbitrated by the Kings of* France, *and* England, *and the Baronage of both Kingdomes. And therefore desires, hee might not receiue detriment, whence hee expected fauour, as a brother and friend.* Adding in the end, *that if the King would be aduised by him hee would by powre free this Kingdome from that vniust tribute which* Innocentius *the* 3, *and other Popes had layde vpon it.* These letters pleased the Assembly and animated them the rather to deny the Popes Mandate. *Vide* Append. The Emperor *Fredericks* letters to the King.

The interposition of this businesse tooke vp so much time, as nothing else was done in this Parliamenr, onely they granted an Ayde to the King, for the marriage of his daughter, twenty shillings of euery Knights fee, and thar with much adoe and repetition of all his former Aydes.

After this, vpon a lighr occasion, rhe King vndertakes an expedition of great charge against *Alexander* King of *Scots*, for which euery Baron which held in *Capite*, Spirituall and Lay, were commanded to bee ready withall Military prouision due for rhat seruice. Whereunto, likewise repaires *Thomas* Earle of Flaunders with three score Knights and a hundred other seruanrs (thirsting for rhe Kings money) whose vnecessarie comming was ill taken by the Barons of Eng. as if the strengrh of the Kingdome without him, were nor sufficient for that Action, which was as sodainely ended as vnderraken, by a faire conclusion of Peace with King *Alexander*; a Prince highly commended for his vertues, by the Writers of that time. Another Greeuances of the Barons.

Vpon his returne, againe that Winter he assembles another Parliament, wherein hee moues for an Ayde, vpon a designe he had for Wales, and to supply his wants, and pay his debts, which were vrged ro be so great, as he could not appeare out of his chamber for the infinite clamor of such to whom he owed for his Wine, Wax, and other necessaries of House. But they all to his face, with one voyce, refused ro grant him any thing. Wherevpon other violent courses are taken. An ancienr quarrell is found out against the city of London for which they are commanded to pay fifteene thousand Markes. And *Passeleue* the Kings Clerke is imployed with others in a most peremprory commission, to inquire of all such lands, as had beene inforrested, and either to fine the occupiers thereof, at their pleasure, or rake it from them and sell the same to others. Wherein such rigor was vsed, as multitudes of people were vndone. *So vnsafe are priuate mens estates, where Princes fall into so great wants. Passeleue* for his good seruice in this businesse should haue beene preferred to rhe Bishopricke of *Chichester*, but the Bishop 13 Parliament. An inquirie about Lands inforested which bred great greeuances.

shop withstood the king therein.

Now, in regard to shew the King the Estate of his kingdome, and the oppression of Popes; Inquity was made of the reuenues which the Romans and Italians had in England, which was found to be annually, sixty thousand Markes, being more then the yearely reuenues of the Crowne of England: which so moued the King, as hee caused the same to be notified, withall other exactions, by his procurators to the general councell now assembled at *Lyons*; Which (with the ill vsage of *Martin*) so vexed the Pope, as he is said to haue vttered these words: *It is fit that wee make an end with the Emperor that we may crush these Petty Kings, for the Dragon once appeased or distroyed, these lesser snakes wilbe soone troden downe.* Which impious speech proceeding from such a mouth, whence the Oracles of peace, and charity ought to be vttered, was as ill taken, bred great scandall, and gaue warning to Princes of preuention; who, though they maligned the corruptions of the Court of Rome, they were yet euer at one with the Church.

An inquiry of the Popes reuenues in Eng

1245. Anno. Reg. 29.

And the Clergy of England were most forward to vindicate the State from that miserable oppression which of late by degrees they were drawne vnto, through the humility of their zeale: For, such is the nature of Domination, wheresoeuer it sits, that finding an yeeldingnes to indure, it neuer thinkes it hath power sufficient, vnles it hath more then enough: for, if the Popes (the professed souraignes of piety) vpon the aduantage of mens zeale, and beliefe, grew to make their will, and their power equall (so that to question their sanctions was taught to be sinne against the Holy Ghost) no meruaile if secular Princes, whose consciences are vntyed, striue to breake out into the wildnesse of their wills from those bounds wherein by the law of the state they are placed.

But vpon the *Popes* reiecting the consideration of these greeuances of England (which were particularly deliuered in this councell at Lyons) and dispising the Kings message (who, he said began to Frederize) it was absolutly here ordayned, vnder great penalty, that no contribution of money should be giuen to the *Pope* by any subiect of *England*: and the King, for a time, bustles against these forraine exactions, in such sort as it gaue some hope of redresse. But being of an irresolute, and wauering nature, and a feard of threats, soone womanlike giues ouer what hee manfully vndertooke: so that the *Pope* continues his former rapine, though hauing by the continuall exclamations of the Clergy, bene brought to promise neuer to send any more Legats into England, yet imployes he other ministers, vnder the the title of Clarkes, who had the same power, as had his former Agents, and effected vnderhand his desires.

Vide Append.

1246. Anno. Reg. 30.

Now the other part of the state haue new occasions of complaynt offered. *Peter* of *Sauoy* Earle of *Richmond* brings ouer certaine maydes to be married to young noble men of England the Kings Wards, of which *Edmond* Earle of *Lincoln* hath one, and *Richard de Burgh* another. And the same yeare, 3. of the Kings brothers by the mother *Guy de Lusignan*, *William de Valence*, and *Athelmar* Clarke are sent for ouer to be prouided of Estates in England. *Thomas* of *Sauoy* (sometimes Earle of *Flanders* by right of his wife) comes with his sister *Beatrix* Countes of Prouince the Queenes Mother: and they are againe feasted, and guifted: for which the King is taxed in the next Parliament conuoked at London in Candlemas Tearme: and besides sharply reprehended *for his breach of promise (vpon his requiring of another ayde) hauing vowed and declared (vpon his last supply) by his Charter, neuer more to iniury the state in that kinde. Besides they blame him for his violent taking vp of prouisions for dyet, Wax, Silkes, robes, &c. and especially for wine, contrary to the will of the sellers, whereby Merchants both of this, and other Kingdomes withdraw their commodities, in so much as all traffique and commerce vtterly cease, to the detriment and infamy of the Kingdome. That his Iudges were sent in circuit vnder pretext of Iustice to fleece the people. That* Robert de Passeleue *had wrung from the borderers of Forests, for incroachments or assarts, great summes of money, and therefore they wonder hee should now demaund reliefe from the impouerished commons: and aduised (him since his needlesse expences* (posquam Regni cæpit esse dilapidator) *amounted to bee aboue* 800 *thousand pounds) that he should pull from his fauourites inriched with this treasure of the Kingdome, and reuoke the old Lands of the Crowne.*

1247. Anno. Reg. 31.

1248. Anno. Reg. 32.

14 Parliament

That he tooke from his subiects, quicquid habuerunt inesculentis, & poculentis. Rusticorum enim Equos, Bigas, Vina Victualia ad libitum capit. Rishanger.

Then

Then they reproue him *for keeping vacant in his hands Bishoprickes, and Abbayes, contrarie to the liberties of the Church, and his Oath made at his Coronation. Lastly they all generally complaine for that the Chiefe Iusticiar, Chancellor, and Treasorer, were not made by the Common Councell of the Kingdome, according as they were in the time of his Magnificent Predecessors, and as it was fit and expedient; but such aduanced, as followed his will, in whatsoeuer tended to his gaine, and sought not promotion for the good of the Kingdome but their owne.*

The King patiently indures this reprehension, in hope to obtaine his desire and giues them promises of redresse, but nothing is effected; after many meetings and much debate the Parliament is proroged till Midsommer following, during which time, they would with Patience expect how the King would beare himselfe towards them; that accordingly they might obay, and satisfie his desire.

But this delay wrought no good, the King through ill Councell growes more obdurate, and harsh to his people, in so much as at the next Session he makes this speech: *Would you curbe the King your Lord, at your vnciuile pleasure, and impose a seruile condition vpon him? will you deny vnto him what euery one of you, as you list, may doe? It is lawfull for euery one of you to vse what counsell hee will, and euery maister of a famely to preferre to any office in his house whom he pleases, and displace againe when he list, and will you rashly deny your Lord, and King to doe the like? Whereas seruants ought not to iudge their Maister, nor Subiects their Prince, or hold them to their conditions. For the seruant is not aboue his Lord, nor the Disciple aboue his Maister. Neither should hee bee your King, but as your seruant who should so incline to your pleasures:* wherefore hee will neither remoue his Chiefe Iusticiar, Chancellor, nor Treasorer, according to their motion. In like manner findes hee answeres to the rest of their Articles, and for the ayde he required, it concern'd (hee said) their Right as well as his. And so the Parliament brake vp in discontent.

The Kings speech in Parliament.

The King is aduised to furnish his wants with the sale of his Plate, and Iewells of the Crowne, being told that as all riuers haue reflux to the sea, so all these things though sold, and disperced would reuert againe vnto him, and therfore it should not moue him, and hauing with great losse receiued money for this ware, hee inquires who had bought it, answere was made, the Citie of London, *that City*, said he, *is an vnexhaustible Gulph. if* Octauius *treasure were to be sold they would surely buy it*, and therewithall inueighes against the City which had so often serued his turne, and deuises all meanes to vexe the same, causing shortly after a new faire to be kept at *Westminster*, forbidding vnder great penaltie all exercise of Merchandize within *London* for 15 dayes, and all other Faires in *England*, and namely that of *Ely*. This nouelti e came to nothing, the inconuenience of the place, as it was then, and the foulenesse of the weather brought more affliction then benefit to the Traders.

Claus, An. 48. & 49. Hen. 3. Beginneth first with sale of Land, then of Iewels, pawneth Gascoyne, and after his crowne when hauing neither credit nor pawnes of his owne, he layeth the ornaments and Iewels of Saint *Edwards* Shrine, giues ouer housekeeping.

1249

Anno.

Reg. 33.

That Christmas also (without respect of Royall Magnificence) hee requires new yeates guifts of the *Londoners*, and shortly after writes vnto them his letters imperiously deprecatorie, to ayde him with money, which, with much grudging they doe, to the summe of 20000 pounds, for which, the next yeare after he craues pardon of the City, sending for them to *Westminster Hall*. And notwithstanding his continuall taking vp of all prouisions for his house, he so much lessens his hospitallity (introducing, say they, the *Roman* Custome of diet) as was held very dishonourable, and vnusuall to the English Magnificence of Court.

The King requires New-yeares guifts.

Then, whereas he could obtaine nothing of the States together, he calls vnto him, or writes to euery Noble man a part, declaring his pouertie and how hee was bound by Charter in a debt of 30 thousand pounds to those of *Burdeaux*, and the *Gascogines* (who otherwise would not suffer him to depart home) at his last being in France. notwithstanding he required nothing but of fauour, which where he found, hee would returne with the like. And fayling likewise herein, hee addresses his letters to the Prelates, where he findes as little reliefe. By much importunitie, and his owne presence he got of the Abbot of Ramsey 100 pounds: but the Abbot of Borough had a face to refuse him the like sum. Though the King, told him it was more almes to giue vnto him, then to a beggar that went from doore to doore: the Abbot of Saint Albones yet

yet was more kinde, and gaue him 60 Markes. To this lownesse, did the necessity of this indigent King (through his profusion) decline him. The Iewes euer exposed to his will, feele the weight of these his wants, and their Estates are continually ransackt. One *Abraham*, found a delinquent, redeemes himselfe for 700 Markes. *Aron* another Iew, protests, the King had since his last being in *France*, taken from him by times, 30. thousand Markes of Siluar, besides hee had giuen 200 Markes in Gold to the Queene.

1250. *Anno. Reg.* 34.

The Lords assemble againe at *London*, and presse him with his promise made vnto them, that the Chiefe Iusticiar, Chancellor, and Treasorer might bee constituted by the generall Councell of the Kingdome; but by reason of the absence of *Richard* Earle of Cornewall, which was thought to bee of purpose, they returne frustrate of their desire. So that discontentment stil gos on, *and neither side get any thing but by hard wrestings, which became them both ill, and shew vs the miseries of a disioynted time.*

The King labors the Couent of *Duresme* to prefer his brother *Athelmar* to the Bishoprick the Couent refuses him, in regard of his youth and insufficiency: the King answeres, *that then he would keepe the Bishopricke 8. or 9. yeares more in his hand, till his brother were of more maturity.* Shortly after the Bishopricke of *Winchester* falles voyd; and thither hee sends presently his solicitors to prepare the Monkes of the Cathedrall Church, to elect his brother, and for that he would not haue also their repulse; he sodainly goes thither himselfe in Person, enters the Chapter house as a Bishop or Prior, gets vp into the Presidents Chayre, begins a Sermon, and takes this text: *Iustice and Peace haue kissed each other*, and thereupon vses these words: *To mee, and other Kings, and to our Princes and Iusticiars, who are to gouerne the people, belong the rigor of Iudgement, and Iustice: to you, who are men of quiet, and religion; peace and tranquillity: and this day I heare, you haue (for your owne good) beene fauorable to my request. Iustice and Peace haue kissed each other. Once I was offended with you for withstanding me in the election of* William Rale *your late Bishop, a man I liked not, but now I am friends with you for this, and will both remember and reward your kindnesse. As by a woman came distruction to the world, so by a woman came the remedy. I to satisfie my wife, desirous to prefer her vnkle* William Valentine, *disquieted, and damnified you, so now, willing to aduance my brother, by the Mother will reconcile my selfe vnto you, &c. And you are to consider how in this citty I was borne, and in this Church Baptised. Wherefore you are bound vnto me in a straighter bond of affection, &c. Then commends he the high birth and good parts of his Brother, and what honor and benefit they should haue by electing him, but concludes with some threatning. So that the Monkes, seeing him thus to require the Bishopricke, held it in vaine to deny him: and* Athelmar *is elected though with this reseruation; if the Pope allowed thereof.* Shortly after followes the memorable cause of Sir *Henry de Bath* a Iusticiar of the Kingdome, and an especiall Councellor to the King, who by corruption had atrayned to a mighty Estate, and is said in one circuit to haue gotten 200. pound land *per annum*. he is accused by Sir *Phillip Darcy* of falsehood in the Kings Court, and the King so incenced against him, as in the Parliament about this time holden in London Proclamation is made that whosoeuer had any action or complaint against *Henry de Bath*, should come and be heard: one of his fellow Iusticiars accused him of acquitting a malefactor for a bribe. The King seeing the friends of the accused strong, breakes out into rage protesting that whosoeuer would kill *Hugh de Bath* should be acquitted for the deed: but afterward he comes pacified by the Earle of *Cornwale*, and the Bishop of London, *who vrged the daunger of the time, the discontentment of the Kingdome; and how the proceeding in such a manner with one of his councell, whom hee had vsed in so great businesse, would discourage others to serue such a maister, who vpon malicious accusations should so forsake them, whose places were euer exposed to enuy and detraction.* And thereupon Sir *Henry* is released paying, 2000 Markes and after restored to his former place and fauour.

The Kings speech to the Chapter at Winchester.

The cause of Sir H. Bath

1251. *Anno. Reg.* 35.

15 Parliament

The mariage of *Margueret* with *Alexander* K. of *Scots* solemnized at at Yorke.

The King keeping his Christmas at Yorke, the marriage is solemnised betweene *Alexander* King of *Scots* and *Margaret* his Daughter, the ryot of which feast with the vaine expences of apparell (the note of a diseased time) is discribed by our author, who amongst other things, reports how the Archbishop gaue 60. far Oxen which were spent at

at one meale; besides that feast cost him 4000. Markes, which shewes, the pouerty of the Church, was not so great as it was pretended to be, seeing when they would shew their glory, they could finde what they denyed at other times.

The Pope Sollicites the King to vndertake the Crosse, and so doth *Alphonsus* King of *Castile*; Offering to accompany him in Person to reskue the King of *France*. Who hauing euen emptied his counrry both of Treasure and nobility, was now taken prisoner by the *Soldan*, and held in miserable captiuity. A ransome collected for him in France, with great vexation, is by tempest cast away on the Sea, other meanes are made for treasure, which could not easely be had: the captiue king offers to restore *Normandy* to the King of *England* so he would come to his rescue. Which, the nobility of *France* takes ill and disdaine the weakenesse of their King: vpon the Popes sollicitation & the grant of a Tenth of the Clergy and Laytie for 3. yeares to come, the king of England vndertakes the Crosse, rather, it seemes to get the money then with any purpose to performe the iourny. Which, had it beene collected, would, saith *Paris*, haue amounted to 600. thousand pound, to the vtter impourishing of the Kingdome, which was that, they both sought, but by seuerall waies, for many now began to discouer, that the Pope, by this imbarking the Princes of Christendome in this remote, and consuming warre, to wast them, their nobility and Kingdome, was onely but to extend his owne power, and domination.

The King of *France* prisoner with the Soldian.

The King of England vnder takes the Crosse.

The king by Proclamation calls the Londoners to Westminster, and there causes the Bishops of *Worcester*, and *Chichester*, to declare his intention; and exhort the people to vndertake the crosse and attend him: but few are moued by their perswation, onely 3. knights (and they of no great note) are nominated: whom the king presently, in open view, imbraces, kisses, and calls bretheren, checking the Londoners, as ignoble mercenaries for that few of them were forward in this action, notwithstanding hee there takes his Oath for performing of the same and to set forth presently vpon Midsommer day next. In taking this oath, hee layes his right hand on his brest (according to the manner of a Priest) and after on the booke, and kist it, as a lay man.

1252. *Anno. Reg.* 36.

A Parliament about this tenth (graunted by the Pope but not the people) is called at London, the Bishops are first delt withall (as being a worke of pięty) to induce the rest, they absolutely refuse the same, then the Lords are set vpon, they answere: *what the Bishops (who were first to giue their voyce consented vnto) they would allow the same.* this shufling put the King into so great rage as hee draue out all that were in his chamber, as he had beene mad. Then falls he to his former course, to preswade them a parte, sends first for the Bishop of *Ely*, deales with him in all milde and kind manner, recounting *the many fauours he had receiued at his hands: how forward hee had found him heretofore to supply his occasions: and intreats him now to giue good example to others, &c.* The Bishop replies: *he was glad, at any time to haue done him acceptable seruice, but in this; for himselfe, to goe from that forme, the vniuersality of the state had determined, he held it a dishonest act; and therefore besought his highnesse he would not vrge him therevnto, dissuading him from that iourny by the example of the King of France, on whom, he might see the punishment of God to be falen, for his rapine made on his peoples substance, wrerewith hee had now inriched his enemies, who were growne fat with the infinite treasure of the Christians transported into those parts.*

The Bishops and Lords deny the K. the Tenth granted by the Pope.

The speech of Isabel Countes of Arundel to the king.

The King, seeing the resolution of this graue Bishop, in great passion commanded his seruants to thrust him out of doore, perceiuing by this what was to be expected of the rest; and so falls to his former violent courses. During this Parliament (an ill time for sutors) *Isabel* Countesse of *Arundel* (widdow) comes vnto him a bout a Ward detayned from her, in regard of a smale parcell of land held in Capite (which drew away all the rest) the King giuing her a harsh answere and turning away she said vnto him: *My Lord, why turne you away your face from Iustice, that we can obtaine no right in your Court you are constituted in the middest betwixt God and vs: but neither gourne your selfe nor vs discreetely as you ought, you shamefully vex both the Church, and Nobles of the Kingdome by all meanes you may. To which speech the King disdainefully replies: Lady Countesse hath the Lords made you a Charter and sent you (for that you are an Eloquent speaker) to be their aduocate and prolocutrix? No Sir, saith she, they haue not made any Charter to mee. But the*

the Charter which your father and you made, and sworne so often to obserue, and so often extorted from your subiects their money for the same, you vnworthily transgresse, as a manifest breaker of your faith. Where are the Liberties of England, *so often written, so often graunted, so often bought? I (though a woman) and with mee, all your naturall, and faithfull people, appeale against you to the tribunall of that High Iudge aboue., and Heauen, and Earth shalbe our witnesse, that you haue most vniustly delt with vs, and the Lord God of reuenge; auenge vs.* Here with the King disturbed, *asked her if shee expected no grace from him being his kinswoman: How shall I hope for grace, said she, when you deny mee right? and I appeale before the face of Christ against those Councellors of yours, who, onely greedy of their owne gaine, haue bewitched, and infatuated you.*

The King reproued by the Maister of the Hospitall of Ierusalem.

As boldly, though in fewer words, is he reproued by the Maister of the Hospitall of Ierusalem in Clerken-well, who comming to complaine of an iniurie committed against their Charter, the King told him; *The Prelats, and especially the Templars and Hospitalars, had so many liberties and Charters that their riches made them proud, and their pride mad, and that those things which were vnaduisedly granted, were with discreation to be reuoked: and alledges how the Pope had often recalled his owne grants, with the clause* non obstante, *and why should not he cassat those Charters inconsiderately granted by him, and his Predecessors.* What say you Sir (said the Prior, God forbid so ill a word should proceed out of your mouth. *So long as you obserue Iustice you may bee a King, and as soone as you violate the same you shall leaue to be a King.*

The Fryers Minors, to whom he had sent a load of Frees to cloath them, returned the same with this message: *That hee ought not to giue Almes of what hee had rent from the poore*, neither would they accept of that abhominable guift. With these and many such like bold incounters (ill becomming the obedience of Subiects) is this King affronted: to shew vs the ill complexion of the time, and how miserable a thing it is for a Prince to loose his reputation, and the loue of his people, whereby they both haue their vexations.

Strangers cõmit ryots.

And dayly more and more hardned hee is against the English: whereby Strangers are made so insolent, as they commit many ryots and oppressions in the Kingdome. *William de Valence* (whose youth and presumption went which way his will led him) goes from his Castle of *Hartford* to a Parke of the Bishop of *Ely*, lying neere his manner of *Hatfield*, where after hauing spoyled much game hee enters into the Bishops house and finding nõ drinke but Ale, causes the Cellar doore being strongly barred, to be broken open by his people, who after they had drunke their fill, let out the rest on the floore. But a greater violence then this was offred to an Officiall of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* by the commandement of the Elect of *Winchester* (the one brother to the Queene, the other to the King) which troubled them both, and gaue them much to doe before it was appeased. *Guy de Lusignan*, the other brother of the King comming as a guest to the Abbot of Saint *Albones* violates the Rights of Hospitality, and many other iniuries, are reported by our Authour to haue beene committed by Strangers, and much complaint is made of that time, wherein, this was sayd to bee the vsuall exclamation. *Our inheritance is giuen to Aliens, and our houses to Strangers*, which notwithstanding the King seekes still to preferre.

A daughter of *Guy de Lusignan* Earle of *Angolesme* is married to *Richard* (or *Gilbert de Clare* Earle of *Glocester* a man eminent, and deerely loued of the Nobility: Learned in the Lawes of the Land; and held a great Patriot: which manacle of alliance lockt not yet his hands from defending the liberties of his Country, the King promises her a dowre of fiue thousand Markes, which hee sought to borow of diuers, but could not.

The City of *London* is againe compelled to the contribution of 1000 Markes: and the *Gascoyns* being vpon reuolt (vnlesse speedy remedy were taken) generall musters are made, and commandement giuen that whosoeuer could dispend 13 pound *per annum*, should furnish out a horse-man. This with the extreame wants of the King occasions another Parliament, wherein the State began, it seemes wisely to consider that all their opposition did no good, the Kings turne must bee serued one way or other,

other, some must pay for it; and where it lighted on particulars it was far more heauy, then it could be in generall: and therefore they agreed to relieue him rather by the vsuall way, then force him to those extrauagant courses which he tooke. But so, as the reformation of the gouernment and ratification of their lawes might be once againe solemly confirmed.

And after fifteene daies consultation to satisfie the Kings desire, for his holy expedition (a Tenth is granted by the Clergy) which yet by view of the Lords should, vpon his setting forth, be destributed for 3. yeares; and Scutage, (3. Markes of euery knights Fee) by the Laytie for that yeare. And now againe those often confirmed Charters are ratified, and that in the most solemne and ceremoniall manner, as *Religion* and *State*, could euer deuise to doe.

A Tenth, and Scutage granted by Parl.

The King with all the great Nobility of England, all the Bishops and chiefe Prelates in their reuerent Ornaments, with burning candles in their hands assemble to heare the terrible sentence of Excommunications against the infringers of the same. And, at the lighting of those Candles, the King hauing receiued one in his hand, giues it to a Prelate that stood by, saying, *it becomes not me being no Priest to hold this candle, my heart shalbe a greater testimony.* and withall, layd his hand spread on his brest the whole time the sentence was read, which was thus pronounced: *Autoritate dei omnipotratis, &c.* which done he caused the Charter of K. *Iohn* his Father granted by his free consent to be likewise openly red. In the end, hauing throwne away their candles (which lay smoaking on the ground) they cryed out: *So let them who incurre this sentence be extinct, and stincke in hell.* And the King with a loud voyce said: *As God me helpe, I will, as I am a Man, a Christian, a Knight, a King crowned, and anoynted, inuiolably obserue all these things.* And therewithall the Bells rung out, and all the people shouted with ioy.

1253. *Anno.* *Reg.* 37.

Vide Append.

Neuer were lawes amongst men (except those holy commandements from the mount) established with more maiesty of Ceremony, to make them reuerend, and respected then were these: they wanted but thunder and lightning from heauen (which if prayers could haue procured; they would likewise haue had) to make the sentence gastly, and hydeous to the infringers thereof. The greatest security that could begiuen was an oath (the oncly chaine on earth, besides loue, to tye the conscience of man, and humaine society together) which, should it not hold vs, all the frame of gouernment and order must needs fall quite a sunder.

Now the busines of *Gascoigne* (that required present care) is in hand, which the better to know, we must returne to the head whence it sprung. 27. yeares past, the King, by the councell of his Lords, freely granted to his brother *Richard* all that Prouince, who is there receiued as their Lord with their oathes of Fealty made vnto him; and so continues, vntill the King (hauing issue of his owne, by motion of the Queene) reuokes his guist, & confers it vpon his eldest sonne *Edward*. *Richard*, though he were deprised of the possession would not yeeld to forgoe his right, and at the Kings last being in Gascoigny, many of them stand doubtfull whom to attend; the King in great displeasure commanded his brother to resigne his Charter, and renounce his right; which, hee refusing to doe, the King commands those of *Burdeax* to take, and imprison him: but they (in regard of his high bloud, the homage they had made him, and the kings mutability, who might resent his owne commandement) would not aduenture there on. Then he assayles them with mony which effected more then his commandement: the Earle is indaunger to be surprised, escapes out of *Burdeaux*, and comes ouer into England.

The K. resumes *Gascoign* from his brother *Richard*, giues it to his sonne Prince *Edward*

The King assembles the nobility of *Gasconie* at *Burdeaux*; inuaighs against his brother: *a man; hee saide was couetous, and a great oppressor, a large promiser, but a spare payer; and that hee would prouide them of a better gouernour*: withall, promises them thirty thousand Markes (as a price of their obedience) and so nullifies the Charter of his former donation, with their homage, and takes their oath of Fealty to himselfe. Which yet they would not make vnto him, till hee had inwrapt himselfe both by his Charter and Oath for this promised summe: wherevnto they so held him, as thereby, afterward they lost his loue. And to be reuenged on them, he sends *Simon Monford* Earle of *Leicester*, a rough and Martiall man to Maister their pride: makes him a

Simon Monford Earle of Leicester sent into Gascony.

a Charter for 6. yeates to come, and furnishes him with 10000. markes the better to effect his command. *Monfort* by his sterne gouernment so discontents the Gascoins, as after three yeares suffring, they send the Archbishop of *Burdeaux* with other great men, to complaine of his hard dealing, and accuse him of haynous crimes: their greeuances are heard before the King and his councell. *Monfort* is sent for ouer, to answere for himselfe, the Earle of Cornwall for his receiued wrong in those parts, and, the Lords of England for their loue to him, take *Monforts* part; and that so egarly, as the King comes about to fauour and countenance the *Gascons* against *Monfort*; not for his loue to them, but to awe, and abate the other. Wherevpon *Montfort* enters into vndutifull contestation with the King, vpraydes him with his expencefull seruice: wherein, he saies, he had vtterly consumed his Estate: and how the King had broken his word with him: and requires him either to make it good, according to his Charter, or render him his expences. The King in great rage told him, no promise was to be obserued with an vnworthy traytor: Wherewith *Monfort* ryses vp protesting that he lyed in that word, and were he not protected by his royall dignity, hee would make him repent it. The King commands his seruants to lay hold on him, which the Lords would not permit. *Monfort* therevpon, grew more audacious saying, who will beleiue you are a Christian? were you euer confessed? if you were, it was without repentance, and satisfaction. The King told him he neuer repented him of any thing so much, as to haue permitted him to entet into this Kingdome, and to haue honored, and instated him, as he had done.

Monforts contestation with the K.

The *Gascoignes*, after this, are ptiuatly sent for by the king, who giues them all comfort, and incouages them against *Monfort*, whom yet he would againe send ouer to his charge, but with clipt winges, whereby both himselfe and they might the better be reuenged on him, and withall confirmes the state of *Gascoigny* to his sonne *Edward* whom he promised them shortly to send ouer, wherwith they are much pleased, and after they had done their homage to the Prince, depart. The effect of this confused, and ill-packt businesse was such, as all indirect coutses produce: *Monfort* returnes in flames to plague the *Gascoignes*, and they in like manner him, but he by his great alliance in *France* drawes together such a power, as beyond expectation, hee ouer matches the *Gascoignes* whose Estates he exposes to spoyle, and therewithall intertaines his great collected army. They againe send ouer their complaints, and vnlesse they were speedely relieued, they of force must put their country into some other hand that would protect them.

Monfort returned to his charge.

And in this state stood *Gascoigny* now at the time of this last Parliament, whither the King, vpon this late supply granted (omitting his Easterne enterprise) goes with 300. Sayle of great ships and lands at *Burdeux* in August, *Anno Reg.* 38. hauing first deposed *Simon M.* from the gouernment there, and makes voyde his Charter by Proclamation. *Monfort* retyres from thence, and is offred intertaynment by the *French*, but refuses it. Before Winter the King had in some sort appeased the *Gascoignes*, and taken in such Castles, as had long held out against him, and the late gouernour. For they hauing put themselues vnder the protection of the King of Spaine; who being so neere a neighbour, and the discontents and factions of the country strong, caused the King of England with more hast, and care to looke to his worke, and the rather for that the King of *Spaine* pretended title to Aquitaine; of whom, that King *Henry* might be the more secure, he sends to treate with him of a mariage betwixt Prince *Edward*, and his Sister *Elionor*, wherevnto the King of *Spaine* willingly consents.

The K. goes ouer into *Gasc.* with 300. great ships.

Alliance with the King of Spaine.

1254. *Anno. Reg.* 38.

The king of England keeps his Christmas at *Burdeux*. The Queene sends him a New-yeares guift of 500. Markes, and the next Sommer, with the Prince, goes ouer vnto him. The marriage is solemnised at *Burgos*, where the king of Spain knights the Prince, and by his Charter quits his claime to *Aquitaine*, for him, and his successors for euer. The king of England inuestes the Prince, and his Wife therein, and besides giues vnto him *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Bristow*, *Stanford*, *and Grantham*. This businesse dispatched, the king prepares to returne, hauing consumed all whatsoeuer hee could get in this iourny, which, with the other two hee had before made, was reckned to haue cost him 27. hundred

Prince *Ed.* marries *Elionor* sister to the King of *Spaine*.

hundred thousand pounds, and was said to be more then all the Lands he had there (should they be sold) were worth, which, when he was told, he willed it might not be reuealed in publike to his disgrace.

Now in regard of danger by sea hee obtaines leaue of the King of France (lately returned from Captiuity) to passe through his Country, and comes to *Paris* with a 1000 horse, besides Sumpters, and Carts, where he stayes 8 daies, is sumptuously feasted, and with as great magnificence feasts the King of *France*. This meeting, in regard of the two Queens, Sisters, and their other two Sisters the Countesse of Cornwall, and Prouince (who were likewise afterward, Queenes) was made the more triumphant, and splendidous. The King about Christmas ariues in England, and the first that payde for his comming home, were the *Londoners*, and the *Iewes*. The *Londoners* presenting him with 100 pounds were returned without thanks: then being perswaded that plate would be better welcome, they bestow 200 pounds in a faire vessell: that had some thankes, but yet serued not the turne. An offence is found, about the escaping of a prisoner for which they pay 3000 Marks. Now complaines hee of his debts, which hee saies to bee 300 thousand Marks, and how his owne meanes was deminished by the preferment of the Prince, who carried away 15 thousand Marks *per annum*, and mony must be had howsoeuer. First he begins to serue his present turne with loanes, and borowes great sums of the Earle of Cornwall, vpon pawne, & after the King had wrung what he could from the *Iewes*, he lets them out to farme to this rich Earle to make the best of them.

King *Henry* comes to Paris with 1000 horse, is feasted by the K. of France.

He returnes into England fines the Londoners.

Then a Parliament is called in Easter Terme, which yeelds nothing but returnes of greeuances; and complaints of breach of Charter, with requiring their former pretended rights in electing the Iusticiar, Chancellor and Treasurer. After much debate to no purpose, the Parliament is prorogued til *Michelmas* after, whē likewise the Kings motion for money is disappointed, by reason of the absence of many Peeres being not, as was alledged, sommoned according to the Tenor of *Magna Charta*. New occasions of charge, and dislike arise. *Thomas* Earle of Sauoy, the Queenes brother, hath wartes with the City of *Thuren*, and must be supplied by the King, and Queene, and his brother *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The elect Bishop of *Toledo* brother to the King of *Spaine* with other great men, come ouet, lie at the Kings charge, and are presented with great gifts. Shortly after, *Elionor* the Princes wife ariues with a multitude of Spaniards, and she must be met, and receiued by the Londoners in sumptuous manner; and her people after many feastings returned home with presents. The Pope sends the Bishop of *Bononia* with a Ring of inuestiture, to *Edmond* the Kings second sonne for the Kingdome of *Sicile* (with the hope of which Kingdome his Predicessor *Innocent* the 4 had before deluded the King himselfe), and hee is returned with a great reward. Then comes *Rustandus* with powre to collect the Tenth of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to the vse of the Pope and the King, and also to absolue him from his Oath for the Holy Warre: so that hee would come to distroy *Manfred* sonne to the Emperor *Frederick*, now in possession of the Kingdome of *Sicile* and *Apulia*. And this man likewise hath great guifts bestowed on him, besides a rich prebend in Yorke: but yet hee obtained not, what he came for, of the Clergie, who protested rather to loose their liues and liuings, then to yeeld either to the will of the Pope or the King, who they said, *were as the Shepheard and the Wolfe combined to macerat the flocke.*

1257. *Anno*: *Reg.* 41. 16. Parliament adiourned.

Pope *Alexander* 4.

Edmond the Kings second sonne is promised the Kingdome of Sicile.

The Pope sent likewise to borow of the Earle of *Cornwall* 500 Marks, in regard of his Nephewes preferment to the Kingdom of *Sicile*, but the Earle refused it, saying, *he would not lend his mony to one on whom hee could not distraine.* So this proiect came to nothing, though all meanes were vsed to draw it on. Newes was spred that *Manfreds* forces were vtterly defeated, and himselfe either slaine or taken prisoner: wherewith the King is so much ioyed as he presently vowes with all speed to make an expedition thither, and giues his sonne *Edmond* no other title but King of *Sicile*. This vaine hope had already, by the cunning of the Popes inwrapt him in obligations, of a hundred and fifty thousand Markes. But shortly after this newes prooues false, and the contratie is notified. *Manfred* is victorious, and the Popes powre defeated by those of *Apulia*, who tooke such indignation that the Pope should giue awaie their Country with-

(without their consent) to an vnknowne Stranger, as with all their maine powre they ioyne to establish *Manfred*, who is now found to bee the legitimate sonne of *Frederick*, and confirmed in his right, which a strong sword will make howsoeuer.

The complaint of the Merchants of Gascoigne.

An ill Office of Officers.

The King keepes his Christmas at Winchester, where the Merchants of Gascoigne hauing their wines taken from them, by the Kings Officers, without due satisfaction, complaine to the Prince, being now their Lord, and shew him, *How they were better to trade with* Sarazins *and* Infidels *then thus to be vsed here, as they were*. The Prince addresses him to his father, and craues redresse herein. but the Officers hauing beene with the K. before to preuent the clamors of the *Gascoignes*, and telling him, *how they falsely exclayme, relying wholly vpon the Princes fauor, who tooke vpon him their vniust cause (and that there ought to be but one in* England, *to whom the ordring of Iustice appertayned)* put him into so great a rage with the Prince, as he breakes out into these words. *See now my bloud, and mine owne bowells impugne mee, behold my sonne, as my brother hath done, is bent to afflict mee, the times of my grandfather* Henry *the second are againe renued, what will become of vs?* but this passion being allayed by Councell, he dissembles the matter, and giues order that these iniuries should bee redressed. But yet the Prince for more caution, amplyfing his trayne rode with 200 horse. So easily are iealosies, by euill Ministers infused into Kings, who are of themselues too apprehensiue in that kinde, being a thing that soone turnes the bloud.

Insolencies committed by the Princes seruants.

And now to adde to the misery of these times, there are new mischiefes committed by the insolence of the Seruants of the Ptince, who being himselfe young, was attended by many youthfull and violent spirits, many strangers, and men without meanes, who, wheresoeuer he went, made spoyle, and tooke for their owne, whatsoeuer they could fasten on, to the extreame vexation of the subiect. And they report how this Prince meeting a young man trauayling on the way caused one of his eares to bee cut off, and one of his eyes put out: which foule act, made many to suspect his disposition, and what hee would proue hereafter. And indeed, had hee not beene indued with an innated Noblenesse of Nature (which, with his long experience in trauaile and great actions ouercame the Vices, the loosenesse of the time, and his owne breeding contracted) hee might haue prooued as bad, as any other. For vnlesse Princes of themselues, by instinction from aboue bee not indued with a naturall goodnesse, they shall gaine little by their education, wherein they are rather shewed what they are, then what they should be: and are apter to learne to know their greatnesse, then themselues: being euer soothed in all whatsoeuer they doe.

These youthfull actions of this Prince, with his ryotous trayne (which are said to be more rauenous, then those which *Louys* brought out of *France* with him) put out the Welsh (of whom he had now the gouernment) into open act of rebellion, and to make spoyle of the English, as his did of them: whereupon he craues meanes of his father, the Queene, and his Vncle *Richard* to suppresse them. But all was vented already, the Kings treasure was gone ouer the Alpes, Earle *Richard* had lent more then hee could get in, and the Earle of Sauoy in his warres had spent that of the Queenes.

The King is still at his shifts to supply his euerlasting necessities. Now he comes himselfe into his Exschequer, and, with his owne voyce pronounced *That euery Shriefe, which appeared not yearely in the Octaues of Saint* Michel, *with his money, as well of his Farmes as amercements and other dues: for the first day should be amerced fiue Markes for the second, ten, for the third fifteene, for the fourth, to bee redeemed at the Kings pleasure. In like sort, that all Cities and Freedoms which answere by their Bayliffes, vpon the same default should bee amerced, and the fourth day to loose their freedomes. Besides euery Shriefe, through out* England *is amerced in fiue Markes for that they did not distraine within their Counties vpon whomsoeuer held 10 pound land* per annum, *and came not to be made knight, or freed by the King.* Then falls he to the examination of measures for Wine and Ale, for Bushels and Weights, which likewise brought in some small thing, and euery yeare commonly hath one quarrell or other to the Londoners, and gets some thing of them.

But now there fell out a businesse that intertayned some time, and gaue occasion to amuze the world with conceipts of some great aduantage and honor to the Kingd. by the

the Election of *Richard* Earle of Cornewall to bee King of Romans, which was (as our Writers say) by the generall consent of all the Electors, and by them is he sent for to receiue that Crowne: the matter is here debated in Councell. Some, who thought his presence, necessary to sway businesses in the Kingdome, were vnwilling, and diswade him by example of the miserable distruction of two lately elected to that dignity, *Henry* the Lantgraue of *Turing*, and *William* Earle of Holland: but others, and especially the King (who was willing to be rid of him, as one he had often found too great for a subiect: and being a King abroad hee might make vse of him) perswades him to take it vpon him, which he is easily (though seeming otherwise) induced to doe.

The Earle of Cornwall Elected King of the Romans.

But the Germaine Writers (who are best witnesses of their owne affaires) declare how after the murther of the Earle of Holland, the Electors were deuided about the choyce of a successor. Some stiffe to vphold their auncient Custome in Electing one of their owne Country, which was more naturall. Others, of a stranger, who might better support their declyning State; which was more politike. Long were the conflicts of their Councells: hereupon in the end, their voyces who stood for strangers were most, but they likewise disagreed among themselues; some would haue *Richard*, brother to the King of England, others *Alphonsus* King of Spain, both of them not only contending who shold haue it, but who shold giue most to buy it: in the end *Richard* being nerest at hand, & his mony the redier, is preferred by the Bishop of *Metz*, the Bishop of *Cologne*, and the *Palsgraue*, whose voyces he is said to haue bought, and afterward is crowned at *Aquisgrane*. Now to confirme himselfe, say they, in his State, he proceeds in all violent, and hostile manner (according as he was set on) against those who opposed his Election, and hauing consumed himselfe both by his excessiue guifts, in purchasing the suffrages he had, and by this prosecution, he came to bee dispossessed, forsaken, and forced to returne into England to his brother *Henry*, then in warre with his Nobles. Thus they deliuer it.

Richard Crowned at Aquisgraue.

But before the Earle departed out of England, the Earle of Gloceſter, and Sir *Iohn Mansel*, were sent into Germany to sound their affections, and how they stood disposed towards him. They returne well perswaded of the businesse, and shortly after the Archbishop of Cologne comes to conduct him ouer, on whom, the Earle bestowes 500 Markes towards his charges; and a rich Miter set with precious stones. This Prince the Earle of Cornwall is reported able to dispend 100 Markes a day for tenne yeares, besides his reuenues in England.

The French, and especially the King of Spaine are much displeased with this aduancement, complayning to the Pope and the King of England of the supplantation of the Earle of *Cornewal*. *Spaine* pretending to haue beene first elected, but being, it seemes a Philosopher, and studious in the Mathematikes (which he first reuiude in Eutope) he was drawing Lines, when he should haue drawne out his purse, and so came preuented of his hopes.

About the time of the departure of Earle *Richard* (in the iollity of the Kingdome vpon this new promotion, & to set forward another) the King calls a Parliament, wherein (bringing forth his sonne *Edmond*, clad in an *Apulian* habit) he vses these words: *Behold my good Subiects, here my sonne* Edmond *whom God of his grace hath called to the dignitie of regall excellencie, how fitting and worthy is he the fauour of you all, and how inhumane, and tyranous were he who (in so important a necessity) would deny him Councell, and ayde?* And then shewes them, how by the aduice and benignity of the Pope, & the Church of *England*, he had for attayning the Kingdom of *Sicile* bound himselfe, vnder Couenant of loosing his Kingdom of *England*, in the sum of 140 thousand Markes. Moreouer, how he had obtayned the Tenth of the Clergy, for 3 yeares to come, of all their benefices to be estimated according to the new rate, without deduction of expences vnlesse very necessarie: besides their first fruits likewise for 3 yeares. Which declaration, how pleasing it was to the Clergie, may be iudged by their former grudgings. Notwithstanding, after they had made their pittifull excuses, in regard of their pouerty, they promised vpon the vsuall condition of *Magna Charta &c.* so often sworne, bought and redeemed, to giue him 52 thousand Markes, but this satisfied him not.

1257. *Anno.* *Reg.* 41. 15. Parliament

52 thousand Markes, vpon conditions promised by the Clergie.

The

1258. Anno. Reg. 42.

The next yeare after is another Parliament at London wherin, vpon the Kings pressing them again, for means to pay his debts to the Pope, the Lords tell him plainly: *they will not yeeld to pay him any thing. And if vnaduisedly he without their consents, and councell bought the Kingdome of* Sicile, *and had been deceiued, he should impute it to his owne imbecillity, & been instructed by the example of his prouidēt brother, who, when the same Kingdom was offred vnto him by Albert the Popes Agent, absolutely refused it, in regard it lay so farre off; So many Nations betweene: the cauills of the Popes: the infidelitie of the people: and the powre of the pretender &c.* Then repeate they their owne greeuances, *the breach of his promises, contemning both the keyes of the Church, and the Charter he had solemnly sworne to obserue: the insolence of his brethren, and other Strangers, against whom, by his order, no Writ was to passe out of the Chancerie, for any cause whatsoeuer: How their pride was intolerable especially that of* William de Valence, *who, most reproachfully had giuen the lie to the Earle of* Leicester, *for which he could not be righted vpon his complaint: How they abounded all in riches, and himselfe was so poore, as hee could not represse the small forces of the* Welsh *that wasted his Country, but going the last yeare against them, and effecting nothing, returned with dishonour.* The King hearing this (as he was apt vpon rebukes soundly vrged to be sensible, and his owne necessities constrayning him thereunto) humbles himselfe, and tells them: *how he had often by ill councell beene seduced, and promises by his oath, which he takes on the tombe of Saint* Edward, *to reforme all these errors.* But the Lords not knowing how to hold their euer-changing Proteus (saith *Paris*) in regard the businesse was difficult, get the Parliament to be adiourned till Saint *Barnabas* day, and then to assemble at Oxford. In the meane time the Earles *Glocester, Leicester, Hereford,* the Earle Mareschall *Bigod, Spencer* and other great men confederate, and prouide by strength to effect their desires. Whilst the King put to his shifts to obtaine money, gets the Abbot of Westminster, vpon promise of high preferment to put his Seale and that of his Couent to a deed obligatorie, as a surety for three hundred Markes, that by his example hee might draw on others to doe the like. Sending his trustie Counsaylors, and Clerke *Simon Passeleue* abroade with his Letters, and this Deede vnto other Monasteries. But *Passeleue*, notwithstanding all the dilligence and skill hee could vse, by threates or otherwise: telling them, *how all they had came from the benignitie of Kings, and how their Soueraigne was Lord of all they had*, they flatly refuse to yeelde to any such Deede. *Saying, they acknowledged the King to bee Lord of all they had, but so, as to defend, not to distroy the same.* And thus he comes likewise disappoynted in this proiect.

Prince *Edward* mortgages Stamford, and other townes to *William de Valence.*

The Prince, who likewise must participate in the wants of his father, was driuen to morgage the Towne of *Stamford, Braham* and many other things, to *William de Valence*, who out of his store, supplied him with money, which after turned to the good of neither, for it layde a recentement on the necessity of the one, which made him breake through his bands, and Enuie on the other whose superfluitie made him odious.

The Barons expostulate for their former Liberties.

But now comes assembled the Parliament at Oxford, and in a hot season (the worst time for consultation) and here burst out that great impostume of discontent so long in gathering. The trayne which the Lords brought with them, was pretended to bee for some exploit against the Welsh, vpon the end of the Parliament: and their securing the ports, to preuent forrainers, but the taking order for keeping of the Gates of London, and their Oathes and Hands giuen to each other, shewed that they were prepared to make the day theirs. Here they beginne with the expostulation of the former Liberties, and require the obseruation thereof according vnto the Oathes, and Orders formerly made. The Chiefe Iusticiar, Chancellor, and Treasorer to be ordayned by publike choice: The 24 Conseruators, of the Kingdome to bee confirmed, 12 by the Election of the Lords, and 12 by the King, with whatsoeuer else made for their owne imagined security. The King seeing their strength, and in what manner they required these things, sweares againe solemnly to the confirmation of them, and causes the Prince to take the same Oath.

But the Lords left not here, the Kings brethren, the *Poictouines* and other Strangers must

must be presently remooued, and the Kingdome cleered of them, and this they would haue all the Peeres of the Land sworne to see done. Here they found some opposition in the Prince, the Earle *Warrein*, and *Henry* eldest sonne to *Richard* now King of Romans; the last refusing to take his Oath without leaue of his father, they plainely told him *that if his father would not consent with the Baronage in this case, hee should not hold a Furrow of Land in England.* In the end, the Kings brethren and their followers are dispoyled of all their fortunes, and exiled by prescription vnder the Kings owne hand directed to the Earles of *Hereford*, and *Surrey*, *with charge not to passe either their Money, Armes, or Ornaments but in such sort as the Lords appointed*: and after their departure, hee enioyneth the Citie of *Bristow*, and other Ports not to permit any strangers or kinsmen of his to ariue, vnlesse they did so behaue themselues, as both he and the Lords should like.

Cron. Lichfield; Henry eldest sonne to the King of Romans refuseth to take his Oath. Claus. 49. Hen. 3.

The *Poictouines* retyring to *Bolongne* in *France* send to King *Louys* to craue safe passage through his Country into *Poictou*, which (in regard the Queene of *France* had beene informed how they had defamed her Sister of England) was, by her meanes denyed at that time, and *Henry* sonne to the Earle of *Leicester* (whose estimation was great in *France*) follows them with all eagernesse thither, to incense the French against them. And as they whom Enuie tumbles downe from high places, shalbe sure euer to haue all the thrusts possible to set them headlong into disgrace with the world; so now the death, and sicknesse of diuers great men and others hapning in England soone after this fatall Parliament, is imputed to poysons supposed to haue been prepared by those Gentlemen. The Earle of Gloceſter in a sicknesse sodainly lost his haire, his teeth, his nailes; And his brother hardly escaped death, which made many to suspect their nerest seruants & their Cookes. *Walter Scotny* the Earles Steward being one, is strictly examined, committed to prison, & after, without confession executed vpon presumptions at Winchester. *Elias* a conuerted Iew, is said to haue cōfessed, that in his house the poyson was confected, but it was when he was a Deuill, not a Christian. Any thing in the prosecution of malice serues the turne. Euery man that had receiued any wrong by those great men, now put vp their complaints, and are heard, to the agrauation of their insolence and iniustice. *Guido le Rochfort* a *Poictouin*, to whom the King had giuen the Castle of *Rochester*, is banished, and all his goods confiscat. *William Bussey* Steward to *William de Valence*, is committed to the Towre of London, and most reprochfully vsed, as an especiall minister of his Maisters insolencies. *Richard Gray* whom the Lords had made Captaine of the Castle of *Douer*, is set to intercept whatsoeuer the *Poictouines* conuayed that way out of England, and much treasure of theirs, and the elect of Winchesters is by him there taken: besides great sums committed to the new Temple, are found out, & seized into the Kings hands. And, as vsually in such heats, much wrong is committed in these prosecutions of wrongs. But now (as an amuzatory, to make the ill-gouerned people thinke they are not forgotten) the new chiefe Iusticiar *Hugh Bigod* brother to the Earle Mareschall (chosen this last Parliament by publike voyce) procures that 4 knights in euery shire should inquire of the oppressions of the poore done by great men, and vnder their hands and Seales certifie the same, by a certaine day, to the Baronage, that redresse might be made. Moreouer order was takē that *from thence forth, no man should giue any thing (besides prouisions) for iustice, or to hinder the same, & both the corrupter, & corrupted to be grieuously punished.* Notwithstanding this pretēded care of the publike it is noted by the writers & records of that time, how the Lords inforced the seruices of the Kings tenants which dwelt nere them, & were *totidem tyranni*: how they furnished the especiall fortresses of the Kingd. with Guardians of their own, sworn to the Common state, and tooke the like assurance of all Shirifs, Bayliffes, Coroners, and other publike ministers, searching the behauior of many by strict commission vpon Oath. And to make their cause the more popular, it was rumored that the *Kings necessitie must bee repayred out of the Estates of his people, and how he must not want whilst they had it*, whereupon the King sends forth proclamation: *How certaine malicious persons had falsly and seditiously reported, that he meant vnlawfully to charge his Subiects, and subuert the Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdome, and by these subtle suggestions, altogether false, auerted the hearts of his people from*

Mat. Par.

Regist. in Scacc. William Rishangar.

from him; and therefore desires them, not to giue credit to such perturbers, for that he was ready to defend all Rights, and Customes due vnto them, and that they might rest of this secured he caused of his free will his letters to be made Patents.

1258. Anno. Reg. 42. But now *Monfort*, *Glocester* and *Spencer*, who had by the late institution of the 24 Conseruators, drawne the intire managing of the Kingdome into their hands, inforce the King to call the Parliament at *London* where the Authoritie of the 24 is deliuered vnto themselues, and order taken that three at the least, should attend in the Court, to dispose of the custodie of Castles, and other businesses of the Kingdome, of the Chancellor, Chiefe Iusticiar, and Treasorer, and of all Offices great and small. And here they binde the King to loose to them their Legale obedience whensoeuer he infringed his Charter.

15 Parliament at London. *Ordinat. inter Record. Ciuit. Lond.*

In this State stood the Kingdome, when intelligence was giuen to the Lords that *Richard* King of *Romans* had a purpose to come ouer into *England*, which made them greatly to suspect (being ignorant of the occasion) least he were sent for by the King to come with powre to subuert them; by the example of King *Iohn*. Whereupon they send to know the cause of his comming, and to require of him an Oath before hee should land, not to preiudice the now established orders of the Kingdome: which he sternely refuses to doe, saying: *Hee had no Peere in* England *being the sonne and brother of a King, and was aboue their powre: and if they would haue reformed the Kingdom, they ought first to haue sent for him, and not so presumptuously attempted a businesse of so high a Nature.* The Lords vpon returne of this answere send presently to guard the Ports, and come strongly to the Coast, prepared to incounter him if occasion were offered. But finding his traine small, accompayned onely with his Queene, two German Earles, and eight Knights, they, vpon his promise to take their propounded oath receiue him to Land; but would neither permit the King (who came likewise thither to meete him) nor himselfe to enter into Douer Castle. At Canterbury they bring him into the Chapter house, where the Earle of Glocester standing foorth in the middest, calls out the Earle, not by the name of King, but *Richard* Earle of Cornewall, who in reuerent manner comming forth, takes his Oath ministred in this manner.

Liceat omnibus de Regno nostro contra nos insurgere, & ad gauamen nostrum opem & operam dare ac sinobis in nullo tenerentur Chart. Orig. sub Sigillo.

The Lords require an oath of him.

Heare all men, that I Richard Earle of Cornewall doe here sweare vpon the Holy Euangelists that I shall bee faithfull, and dilligent to reforme with you the Kingdome of England, *hitherto by the Councell of wicked persons ouermuch disordred, bee an effectuall coadiutor to expell the rebells and disturbers of the same, and this Oath will inuiolably obserue vnder payne of loosing all the Land I haue in* England: *so helpe mee God.*

The Oath of the King of Romans.

In this manner deale the Lords to binde this great Earle vnto them, supposing his powre to haue beene more then it was, which at length they found to bee nothing but an aytie Title; for hauing consumed all that mighty substance abroad, in two yeares (which with great frugallity, had beene many in gatheting) hee returnes in this manner home, poore and forlaken by the *Germans*, without any other meanes to trust vnto, but onely what he had in *England*.

1259. Anno. Reg. 44. Notwithstanding vpon his returne the King takes hearr, and seekes all meanes to vindicate his powre, dispatching first messengers secretly to *Rome*, to bee absolued from his inforced Oath, then sends into *Scotland* to the King, and the Queene his daughter for aydes to be ready vpon his occasions. And to haue the more assurance of the King of *France*, and bee freed from forraine businesse, hee makes an absolute resignation, of whatsoeuer right hee had to the Dutchy of *Normandie*, and the Earledomes of *Anion*, *Poictou*, *Tourene*, and *Maine*, in regard whereof the King of *France* giues him three hundred thousand pounds (some say crownes) of *Auionine* money, and graunts him to enioy all *Guien* beyond the riuer *Garonne*, all the Country of *Xantonge* to the riuer of *Charente*, the Countries of *Limosin*, and *Quercy* for him and his successors doing their Homage, and Fealty to the Crowne of *France*, as a Duke of *Aquitayne*, and a Peere of that Kingdome.

1261. Anno. Reg. 45. He resignes Normandy &c.

The Lords likewise on the other side seeke to strengthen their association, and hold in each other to their Oathes, and obsetuation of their orders, which was hard to doe: for

for consisting of manifold disposirions there was dayly wauering, sometimes Pikes amongst themselues, in so much as rhe Earle of *Leicester* (the chiefe man that kept the fire of that faction in) told the Earle of *Gloceſter* finding him staggering; *that hee cared not to liue with such men, whom hee found so mutable and vncertaine, for said he, my Lord of Gloceſter, as you are more eminent, so are you more bound to what you haue vndertaken for the good of the Kingdome.* And as he incenced others, so had he those that animated him, as *Walter* Bishop of Worcester, and *Robert* Bishop of Lincoln who inioyned him vpon re- mission of his sinnes to prosecute the cause vnto death, affirming *how the peace of the Church of England could neuer be established but by the materiall sword.*

The Lords combine against the K.

W. Rishangeri

But now many being the temptations, many are drawne away from their side, especially after the sentence giuen against them by the King of *France*, made Arbiter of the quarrell, who yet though he condemned the prouisions of Oxford; allowed the confirmation of King *Iohns* Charter: by which distinction he left the matter as he found it: for those prouisions, as the Lords pretended, were grounded vpon that Charter. Howsoeuer his sentence much aduantaged the King of England, and made many to dispence with their Oath, and leaue their party. Amongst whom was *Henry* Sonne to the Earle of Cornwall (on whom the Prince had bestowed the Honour of Tyckhill) who comming to the Earle of Leicester told him, hee would not be against his Father, the King, nor his allyes: but said hee, my Lord, I will neuer beare armes against you; and therefore I craue leaue to depart. The Earle cheerefully replies: my Lord *Henry*, I am not *sorry for your departure, but for your inconstancie, goe, returne with your armes, I feare them not at all.* About the same time *Roger de Clifford*, *Roger de Leiborn*, *Hamo l' Strange*, and many other (wonne with guifts) depart from the Barons.

1262 Anno. Reg 46.

1263. Anno. Reg. 47.

Shortly after *Roger de Mortimer* of the Kings part breakes into open act of hostility, makes spoyle of the lands of the Earle of *Leicester*, who had now combined himselfe with *Llewellin* Prince of Wales, and had sent forces to inuade the lands of *Mortimer* in those parts. And here the sword is first drawne in this quarrell, about 3. yeares after the Parliament at Oxford. The Prince takes part with *Mortimer*, surprises the Castle of *Brecknock*; with other places of strength, which he deliuers to his custody. The Earle of *Leicester* recouers rhe towne and Castle of *Gloceſter*, constraines the Cittizens to pay a thousand pounds for their redemption, goes with an Army to *Worcester*; possesses him of the Castle, thence to *Shrewsbury*, and so comes about to the Isle of *Ely*, subdues the same, and growes very powerfull.

The beginning of the warres.

1264. Anno. Reg. 48.

The King, doubting his approch to London (being not yet ready for him) workes so as a mediation of peace is made, and agreed, vpon these conditions: *that all the Castles of the King should be deliuered to the keeping of the Barons: the Prouisions of Oxford, should be inuiolably obserued: All strangers by a certaine time should avoyd the Kingdome, except such as by a generall consent, should be held faithfull, and profitable for the same.* Here was a little pause, which seemes was but as a breathing for a greater rage. The Prince had fortified *Windsor* Castle, victualed, and therein placed strangers to defend it; and himselfe marches to rhe towne of *Bristow*, where in a contention betweene the Cittizens, and his people being put to the worse, he sends for rhe Bishop of *Worcester* (an especiall partaker of the Barons) to protect, and conduct him back. When he comes nere *Windsor*, he gets into the Castle, which rhe Earle of *Leicester* comes to besiege, and being about *Kingston*, the Prince meets him to treat of peace, which the Earle refuses, and layes Siege to the Castle, that was rendred vnto him, the strangers turned out, and sent home into *France*.

16 Parliament

The King to get time conuokes another Parliament at London, wherein hee wonne many Lords to take his part, and with them (the Prince, *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, *Henry* his Sonne, *William Valence* with the rest of his bretheren lately returned) he marches to *Oxford*, whither diuers Lords of *Scotlan* repaire to him: as *Iohn Comyn*, *Iohn Baliol*, Lord of *Galloway*, *Robert Bruce* and others, with many Barons of the North, *Clifford*, *Percy*, *Basset* &c. From *Oxford* withall his forces he marches to *Northampton*, wher he tooke prisoners, *Simon Monfort* the younger, with 14. other principall men, thence to *Nottingham* making spoile of such possessions, as appertained to the Barons in those parts.

17 Parliament held at London.

Scottish Lords come to aide the King of England.

The

The Earle of *Leicester* in the meane time, drawes towards London to recouer and makes good that part, as of cheifest importance, and seekes to secure Kent and the Ports. Which hasts the King to stop his procceding, and succor the Castle of Rochester beseeged.

Successe, and autority now growes strong on this side, in so much as the Earles of *Leicester*, and *Glocester*, in behalfe of themselues, and their party write to the King, humbly protesting their loyalty, *and how they opposed onely against such as were enemies to him and the Kingdome, and had belyed them.* The king returnes answere; *how themselues were the perturbers of him and his state: enemies to his person, and sought his and the Kingdomes destruction, and therefore defies them.* The Prince, and the Earle of *Cornewall* send likewise their letters of defiance vnto them. The Barons notwithstanding doubtfull of their strength, or vnwilling to put it to the hazard of a Battaile, mediate a peace, & send the Bishops of London, and Worcester with an offer of 30. thousand Markes to the King, for damages done in these warres, so that the statutes of Oxford might be obserued: which yeeldingnesse, the other side supposing to argue their debility, made them the more neglectiue, and securer of their power, which commonly brings the weaker side (more watchfull of aduantages) to haue the better.

The Barons mediate a peace

The Earle, seeing no other meanes but to put it to a day (being a man skilfull in his worke) takes his time to be earlier ready then was expected; and supplies his want of hands with his wit, placing on the side of a hill neere *Lewys*, where this battaile was fought, certaine ensignes without men, in such sort as they might seeme a far off, to be squadrons of suckors to second those he brought to the incounter, whom he caused all to weare white-crosses, both for their owne notice, and the signification of his cause, which, he would haue to be for Iustice. Here the fortune of the day was his, the King, the Prince, the Earle of *Cornewall* and his Sonne *Henry*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Hereford*, and all the *Scottish* Lords are his prisoners. The Earle *Warrein*, *William de Valence*, *Guy de Lusignian* the Kings bretheren, with *Hugh Bigod*, Earle *Mareschall* saue themselues by flight, fiue thousand are slaine in this defeit, which yet was not all the bloud, and destruction this businesse cost.

The Battaile of Lewys.

The K. Prince and others taken prisoners.

1265. *Anno.* *Reg.* 49.

All this yeare, and halfe of the other, is *Simon Montford* in possession of his prisoners: the King he carries about with him to countenance his actions, till he had gotten in, all the strongest Castles of the Kingdome. And now (as it vsually falls out in confederations where all must be pleased or else the knot will dissolue) debate arises betweene the Earles of *Leicester*, and *Glocester*, about their diuidend, according to their agreement. *Leicester* (as fortune makes men to forget themselues) is taxed *to doe more for his owne particular, then the common good: to take to himselfe the benefit and disposition of the Kings Castles: to vsurpe the redemption of prisoners at his pleasure, to prolong the businesse, and not to vse the meanes of a Parliament to end it:* his Sonnes also presuming vpon his greatnesse grow insolent, which made *Glocester* to forsake that side, and betake him to the Prince, who lately escaping out of the Castle of *Hereford* had gotten a power about him of such as attended the oportunity of a turning fortune, and to reuenge the dishonor of one Battaile by another.

Monfort taxed of wrong.

The Earle of Glocester leaues him.

The reuolt of this Earle brought many hands to the Prince, whereby many peeces of strength are regayned, both in England and Wales. The Earle of *Leicester* to stop the proceeding of this mighty growing Prince (being now with his army about *Worcester* imbattailes in a plaine neere *Euesham*, to incounter him: and noting the manner of the approch of his army, said to those about him: *these men come brauely on, they learnt it not of themselues, but of mee. And seeing himselfe likely to be beset, and ouerlayd with numbers, aduised his friendes* Hugh Spencer, Ralph Basset, *and others to shift for themselues*, which when he saw they refused to doe: then said he, *let vs commit our soules to God; for our bodies are theirs*, and so vndertaking the maine waight of the Battaile, perished vnder it. And with him are slaine his Sonne *Henry*, eleuen other Batons with many thousands of common souldiers. At the instant of his death, there hapned so terrible a thunder, lightning, and darknesse, as it gaue them, as much horror, as their hideous worke.

The Earle *Monfort* slaine

And so ends *Monfort* this great Earle of *Leicester*, too great for a subiect, which had hee

hee not beene, he might haue beene numbred amongst the worthiest of his time. How-soeuer, the people which honored, and followed him in his life, would (vpon the fame of his miracles) haue worshipped him for a Saint after his death; but it would not be permitted by Kings.

And here this Battaile deliuers the Captiue King, (but yet with the losse of some of his owne as well as his subiects bloud; by a wound casually receiued therein) and rid him of his Iaylor *Monfort*, whom he hated & had long feared more then any man liuing, as himselfe confessed vpon this accident: passing one day (shortly after the Parliament at Oxford) vpon Thames, there hapned a sodaine clap of thunder, wherewith the King was much affrighted and willed presently to be set on shore at the next landing, which was at *Duresme* house, where *Monfort* then lay, who seeing the King ariuing hastes downe to meete him, and perceiuing him to be troubled at the storme, said, *that hee needed not now to feare, the daunger was past. No, Monfort, said the King, I feare thee, more then I doe all the Thunder and tempest of the World.* And now the King with the victorious Prince, the redeemer of him, and the Kingdome, repaires to Winchester, where a Parliament is conuoked, and all who adhered to *Simon Monfort*, are disinherited, and their estates conferred on others, at the Kings pleasure. The Londoners haue their liberties taken from them, *Simon* and *Guy de Monfort*, Sonnes of the Earle of *Leicester*, with the disinherited Barons and others who escaped the Battaile of *Euesham* take, and defend the Isle of Ely. The Castle of Killingworth defended by the seruants of the late Earle, although it were in the heart of the Kingdome, endured the Seige of halfe a yeare against the King and his Army: in the end their victualls fayling they yeeld *vpon condition to depart, their liues, members, and goods saued.* And it is worthy the note *that we find no execution of bloud, except in open Battaile, in all these combustions, or any noble man to dye on a Skaffold, either in this Kings raigne, or any other since William the first, which is now almost 300. yeares.* Onely in *Anno* 26. of this King, *William Marisc*, the Sonne of *Geffrey Marsc* a Nobleman of *Ireland*, being condemned of Piracie, and treason was hanged, beheaded, and quartered: and is the first example of that kind of punishment we finde in our Histories.

1266. *Anno. Reg.* 50.

18 Parliament held at Winchester.

All who tooke part with *Monfort* disinherited.

After the Parliament at Winchester the King goes with an army against the disinherited Barons, and their partakers, which were many resolute, and desperate persons strongly fastned together. And being at Northampton, *Simon* and *Guy de Monfort*, by mediation of friends, and promises of fauor came in and submitted themselues to the King, who, at the earnest suite of the Earle of Cornwall their Vnkle and the Lord *Phillip Basset*, had restored them to their Estates, but for *Glocester*, and others who (doubting their spirits) wrought to hold them downe where their fortune had layd them. In so much as they were faine in the end to flye the Kingdome, and worke their fortunes other where, which they did, the younger in Italy, the Elder in France: *where they were propagators of two great Famelies.* Their mother was banished shortly after the battaile of *Euesham*. *A Lady of eminent note, the daughter and sister to a King, nocent onely by her fortune, who from the Coronet of miserable glory, betooke her to the vaile of quiet piety, and dyed a Nun at Montarges in France.*

Three yeares after this, the disinherited Barons held out in those fastnesses of the Kingdom where they could best defend themselues, made many excursions, and spoyles to the great charge and vexation of the King, at length motions, and conditions of render are proposed, wherein the Councell are deuided. *Mortimer* now an eminent man in grace, with others stated in the possessions of the disinhereted, are auers to any restoration, alledging it *a great act of iniustice, for them to be forced to forgoe what the King had for their paines, and fidelity bestowed on them, and the others iustly forfeited, and therefore would hold what they had.* *Glocester* with the 12. ordayned 10 deale for the peace of the state, and other his friends which were many, stand mainely for restoration. This caused new pikes of displeasure, in so much as *Glocester*, who, conceiuing his turning, not so to serue his turne, as he expected, taking his time, againe changed foote: retires from the Court, refuses to come to the Kings Feast on Saint *Edwards* day: sends messengers to warne the King, *to remoue strangers from his Councell, and obserue the prouisions of Oxford, according*

Motions of peace made to the disinherited Lords.

1267. *Anno. Reg.* 51.

The Earle of *Glocest.* reuolts.

according to his last promise made at Euesham; otherwise that he should not meruaile, if himselfe did what he thought fit. Thus had victory no peace, the distemprature of the time was such, as no sword could cure it: recourse is had to Parliament (the best way if any would serue, for remedy) and at Bury is the state conuoked, where likewise all who held by Knights seruice are sommoned to assemble, with sufficient horse and armor for the vanquishing of those disherited persons, which, contrary to the peace of the Kingdome held the Isle of *Ely*.

19 Parliament

Iohn de Warreine Earle of Surrey, and *William de Valentia*, are sent to perswade the Earle of *Glocester* (who had now leuied an army vpon the borders of Wales) to come, in faire manner to this Parliament, which he refuses to do, but yet thus much the Earles had of him vnder his hand, and seale: *never to beare armes against the King, or his Sonne Edward, but to defend himselfe, and pursue Roger Mortimer, and other his enemies*, for which he pretended to haue taken armes. The first demand in the Parliament was made by the King and the Legat; *for a graunt of a Tenth of the Clergie for three yeares to come, and for the yeare past, so much as they gaue to the Barons for defending the Coasts against the landing of strangers.* Whereto they answere, *that the warre was begun by vniust desires, which yet continues, and necessary it were to let passe so euill demands, and to treat of the peace of the Kingdome; to conuert the Parliament to the benefit thereof, and not to extort mony, considering the land had beene so much distroyed by this warre, as it could hardly be euer recouered.* 2. Then was it required, *that the Clergie might be taxed by lay men, according to the iust valew of what appertayned vnto them.* They answere: *it was no reason, but against all Iustice, that Lay men should inter meddle in collecting Tenths, which they would never consent vnto, but would haue the ancient taxation to stand.* 3. Then was it required, *they should giue the Tenth of their Baronies and Lay Fee, according to the vtmost valew.* They answere: *themselues were impourished by attending the King in his expeditions, and their lands lay vntilled by reason of the warres.*

4. Then it was required, *that the Clergie should in lieu of a Tenth, giue amongst them 30. thousand Markes to discharge the Kings debts contracted for Sicilia, Calabria, and Apulia,* They answere; *they would giue nothing in regard all those taxations, and extorsions formerly made by the King were never conuerted to his owne, or the benefit of the Kingdome.* 5. All this being denied, demand is made, *that all Clergie men that held Baronies, or other Lay Fee should personally serue in the Kings warres.* They answere, *they were not to fight with the materiall, but the spirituall sword, &c. that their Baronies were giuen of meere almes, &c.* 6. Then was it required, *the whole Clergie should discharge the 9000. pounds, which the Bishops of Rochester, Bath, and the Abbot of Westminster stood bound to the Popes Merchants for the Kings seruice at their being at the Court of Rome.* They answere: *they never consented to any such loue, and therefore were not bound to discharge it.* 7. Then the Legat, from the part of the Pope requited, *that without delay predication should be made throughout the kingdome to incite men to take the Crosse for the Holy warre*, wherevnto answere was made, *that the greatest part of the people of the Land were already consumed, by the sword, and that if they should vndertake this action, few or none would be leaft to defend the Kingdome, and that the Legat hereby shewed a desire to extirpat the natiues thereof and introduce strangers.* 8. Lastly it was vrged, *that the Prelates were bound to yeeld to all the Kings demands by their oath at Coventrie; where they swore to ayd him by all meanes possible they could.* They answere, *that when they tooke that oath, they vnderstood no other ayd, then spirituall, and holesome councell,* So nothing was obtained but denyalls in this Parliament.

The Legat, likewise imploies sollicitors to perswade the disherited *LL.* which held the Isle of *Ely, to returne to the faith, and vnity of the Church, the peace of the King, according to the forme prouided at Couentry, for redeeming their inheritances from such as held them by guift from the King for 7. yeares profits, and to leaue of their robberies.* The disherited returne answer to the Legat. *First, that they held the faith, they received from their Catholicke Fathers, and their obedience to the Roman Church, as the head of all Christianity; but not to the auarice and willfull exaction of those who ought to gouerne the same. And how (their Predicessors whose heyres they were, hauing conquered this land by the sword) they held themselues vniustly disherited. that it was against the Popes Mandat, they should be so delt with all.*

That

That they had formerly taken their Oath to defend the Kingdome and Holy Church, all the Prelats thundring the sentence of excommunication against such as withstood the same and according to that Oath they were prepared to spend their liues. And seeing they warred for the benefit of the Kingdome, and Holy Church, they were to sustaine their liues by the goods of their Enemies, who detained their Lands, which the Legat ought to cause to bee restored vnto them, that they might not be driuen to make depradation in that manner, which yet was not so great as was reported: for that many of the Kings and Princes followers made rodes, and committed great robberies which, to make them odious, were imputed, and giuen out to bee done by them, wherefore they wish the Legat to giue no credit to such reports: for if they should finde any such amongst them, they would themselues doe Iustice vpon them without delay.

Besides they declare to the Legat, *that hee had irreuerently ejected out of the Kingdome the Bishops of* Winchester, London *and* Chichester, *men circumspect and of deepe iudgement, whereby the Councell of the Kingdom was in great part weakned to the daunger thereof, and therefore willed him to looke to the reformation of the same: and that they might bee restored to their Lands without redemption. That the prouisions of* Oxford *might bee obserued. That they might haue Ostages deliuered them into the Island to hold the same peaceably for fiue yeares to come, vntill they might perceiue how the King would performe his promises.*

Thus they treat, not like men whom their fortunes had layde on the ground, but as they had beene still standing: so much wrought either the opinion of their cause, or the hope of their party. But this stubbornesse so exasperates the King as the next yeare following, hee prepares a mighty Army, besets the Isle so that he shuts them vp, and Prince *Edward*, with bridges made on Boates enters the same in diuers places, and constraines them to yeeld. In the meane time the Earle of Glocester, with his army collected on the borders of Wales to ayde them, marched to London where, by the Citizens he was receiued: but the Legat who kept his residence in the Towre so preuayled with him, as he againe renders himselfe to the King to whom hee was afterward reconciled, by the mediation of the King of Romans, and the Lord *Philip Basset* vpon forfeiture of twelue thousand Markes, if euer after he should raise any commotion.

The Earle of Glocester reconciled.

This effected, the King goes with an Army into Wales, against *Lewellin*, for ayding *Simon Monfort* and the Earle of Glocester, in their late attempts against him, but his wrath being by the guift of 32 thousand pounds sterling, appeased, peace is concluded betwixt them, and foure Cantreds, which had by right of war, been taken from him, restored.

And here was an end of the first Barons Warres of England, *wherein wee see what effects it wrought, how no side got but misery and vexation, whilst the one struggled to doe more then it should, and the other to doe lesse then it ought, they both had the worst, according to the vsuall euents of such imbroylements.*

1269. *Anno.* *Reg.* 53.

The next yeare after this appeasement, the Legat *Ottobon* signes with the Croissado both the Kings sonnes *Edward*, and *Edmond*, the Earle of Glocester, and diuers Noblemen induced to vndertake the Holy Warre by the sollicitation of him: and the King of France, who notwithstanding his former calamities indured in that action, would againe aduenture therein. So much either the desire of reuenge, with the recouery of his fame and honour, or the hope of enioying another World prouoked him to forgo this, and haste to his finall distruction. And for that Prince *Edward* wanted meanes for his present furnishment, this King of France lent him 30 thousand Markes, for which hee morgaged vnto him Gascoigny. An act, which subtler times would interpret to be rather of Policie then Piety, in this King to ingage in such manner, and vpon so especiall a caution, a young stirring Prince, likely in his absence to imbroyle his Estate at home, and to draw him along in the same aduenture with himselfe, without any desire otherwise, either of his company or ayde; considering the inconueniences that stung these seuerall Nations heretofore by their incompetability, in the same action: but here it were sinne to thinke they disguised their ends, or had other couerings for their designes then those through which they were seene; their spirits seeme to haue beene warmed with a Nobler flame.

Prince *Edw.* his brother and others vndertake the Holy Warre.

And now whilst this preparation is in hand, King *Henry* labours to establish the Peace

21 Parliament at Marleborough.

Peace of the Kingdome, and reforme those excesses the warre had bred, causing by proclamation *stealth of Cattle to bee made a cryme Capitall*, and the first that suffred for the same was one of Dunstable who had stolne twelue Oxen from the inhabitants of *Colne*, and being persued to *Redburne* was by the Bayliffe of Saint *Albones* (according to the Kings Proclamation condemned and beheaded. And the same yeare the King assembles his last Parliament at *Marleborugh* where the Statutes of that Title were inacted.

1271. *Anno. Reg.* 55.

Nere two yeares it seemes to haue beene after the vndertaking the Crosse before Prince *Edward* set forth, a time long ynough (if those resolutions would haue beene shaken) to haue bred an alteration of desire, but so strong was the current of this humour as no worldly respects could giue any the least stoppage thereunto. Otherwise a Prince so well acquainted with action, so well vnderstanding the world, so forward in yeares (being then 32) so neere the possession of a Kingdome, would not haue least it, and an aged father broken with daies and trauaile to haue betaken himselfe (with his deare and tender consort *Elionor* and as it seemes then young with childe) to a voyage that could promise nothing but daunger, toyle, miserie, and affliction. So powrefull are the operations of the minde, as they make men neglect the ease of their bodies, especially in times not dissolued with those softnings of Luxurie and Idlenesse which vnmannes them. And we cannot but admire the vndauntable constancie of this Prince, whom all the sad examples of others calamities (crossing euen the beginning of this action) could not deterre from proceeding therein. For, first the King of *France* who with two of his sonnes, the King of *Nauarre* and a mighty Army, being set out before, and by the way besieging the Citie of *Tunis* in *Affrica* (possest then by the *Sarazines* that infested Christendome) perished miserably by the Pestilence that raged in his Army, and with him one of his sonnes and many of his Nobles, whereby all their enterprise was dasht and vtterly ouerthrowne. Besides, *Charles* King of *Sicile*, brother to this King of *France*, who likewise came to ayde him, returning home, lost the greatest part of his Nauie by tempest. Moreouer many of this Princes owne people were desirous to leaue him and returne home. Whereupon he is sayde *to haue stricken his brest, and sworne: that if all his followers forsooke him, he would yet enter* Tolemais *or* Acon, *though but onely with his Horse-keeper* Fowin. By which speech they were againe incenced to proceed: but yet his Cozin *Henry* sonne to the King of Romans, obtaines leaue of him to depart, and was set on shore in *Italie*: where, notwithstanding hee found what hee sought to auoyde, Death; and was slaine in the Church at Viterbo (being at deuine seruice) by his owne Cozin German *Guy de Monfort* (sonne to *Simon* late Eatle of Leicester) in reuenge of his fathers death. The newes of which vnnatural murther seemes to hasten the end of *Richard* King of Romans, who died shortly after, and the next yeare following, finished likewise *Henry* the 3 of *England* his act, in the 65 of his age hauing reigned 56 years, and 20 daies. *A time that hath held vs long, & taken vp more then a tenth part from the* Norman *Inuasion to this present: and yeelded notes of great varietie with many examples of a crasie, and diseased State, bred both by the inequality, of this Princes manners, and the impatience of a stubborne Nobility.*

The resolution of Prince *Edmond.*

1274. *Anno. Reg.* 57.

His issue.

He had by his wife *Elionor* sixe sonnes, wherof only two suruiued him, *Edward* and *Edmond*: and two daughters, which liued to be married, *Margueret* the eldest to *Alexander* King of *Scots*. *Beatrice* the other to *Iohn* the first intituled Duke of *Brittaine*.

Heere endeth the Life, and Raigne of Henry the third.

The

The Life, and Raigne, of Edward *the first.*

VPon the death of *Henry*, the State assembles at the new Temple, and proclaimes his sonne *Edward* King, though they knew not whether he were liuing, sweares fealty vnto him: causes a new Seale to be made: and appointes fit ministers for the custody of his Treasure, and his Peace, whilst himselfe remaines in *Palestine*, where by an *Assasin* (making shew of deliuering letters) he receiues three dangerous wounds with a poysoned knife, whereof he was hardly recured. After three yeares trauell, from the time of his setting forth, and many conflicts without any great effect, disappointed of his aides, and his ends, he leaues *Acon* (which he went to relieue) well fortified, and manned: returnes homeward, lands in *Sicile*, is royally feasted by *Charles* the King thereof: passes through *Italy*, with all the honour could be shewed him, both by the *Pope*, and the Princes there. Thence descends into *Burgogne*; where at the foote of the *Alpes*, hee is met by many of the Nobilitie of *England*, and there challenged by the Earle of *Chabloun* (a fierce man at Armes) to a Turneament: Wherein againe hee hazards his person to shew his valor, which may seeme to be more then became his Estate, and dignitie. From thence he comes downe into *France*, where hee is sumptuously entertayned, and feasted by *Phillip* 3. (surnamed the *Hardy*) to whome hee doth homage for all the Territories he held of that Crowne.

1272. *Anno.* *Reg.* 1.

Thence hee departs into *Aquitayne*, where hee spent much time in setling his affaires. And after six yeeres, from his first setting out, hee returnes into *England*: Receiues the Crowne (without which hee had beeene a King almost three yeeres) at the hands of *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterburie* in *Septemb.* 1275. And with him is *Elionor* his Queene likewise Crowned at *Westminster*. *Alexander* King of *Scotts*, and *Iohn* Duke of *Brittaine*, (who both had married his Sisters) beeing present at the Solemnitie.

His Coronation.

Reg. 3 *An.* 1274.

The spirit and abilities of this Prince shewed in the beginning of his Actions vnder his Father, after the great Defeit hee gaue the Barons at *Euesham*: The prosecution of the disherited Mutiners of the Kingdome: The exposition of his Person to all hazards, and trauaile: His single Combat with *Adam Gordun* the Outlaw neere *Farnham*: His great aduenture and Attempts in the East: And finally his long experience in the affaires of the World, with his Maturitie of yeeres (being about 35. before he came to the Crowne) might well presage what an able Master hee would proue in the mannage thereof. And how (by these aduantages of *Opinion*, and *Reputation*) he was likely (as he did) to make a higher Improuement of the Royaltie; hauing wonne, or worne out, the greatest of those who heretofore opposed the same. In so much as hee seemes the first Conqueror, after the Conqueror that got the Domination of this State in that emminent manner, as by his gouernment appeares,

And euen at his first Parliament, held shortly after his Coronation at *Westminster*, he made triall of their patience, and had the *Fifteenth* of all their goods (*Cleargie* and *Lay*) granted vnto him, without any Noyse as we heare off. The *Cleargie* hauing yeelded before a *Tenth* for two yeers to be paid to him, & his brother *Edmond* toward the charge of the *Holy Warre*. But yet all this could not diuert the Designes hee had to abate the power *Ecclesiasticall*, which by experience of former times, hee found to be a part growne to strong for the Soueraignety, whensoeuer they combined with the *Lay Nobilitie*: and therefore now at first (whilst hee was in the exaltation both of opinion and estimation with the World) hee beganne to set vppon their priuiledges. And in *Anno Reg.* 6. (to extend saith the Monkish Historie, the Royall Authoritie) hee depriued many famous Monasteries throughout *England* of their Liberties, and tooke from the Abbot, and Couent of *Westminster* the Returne of Writts granted them by the *Charter* of his Father King *Henry* 3: The next yeere after hee got to be inacted the Statute of *Mortmaine*, to hinder the increase of their temporall possessions (which made them so powerfull) as beeing detrimentall to the Kingdome; and the Militatie seruice

Quintam Decimam omnium bonorum Temporalium tam Clericorum, quam Laicorum in audito more ad vnguem taxatam Rex iusserat confiscari Mat. West

His proceeding against the Clergie

seruice of the same. In the Second Sraute of Weminster, he defalked the Iurisdiction of Ecclesiasticall Iudges. Hee lefr not here, but afterward growing more vpon them, he required rhe Moietie of all rheir goods, as well Temporall, as Spirituall for one yeare: which (though ir put them into extreame perplexitie and griefe) they yet werefaine to yeeld to his demaund. And at the fitst propounding thereof, one Sir *Iohn Hauering* Knight stands vp amongst them, as they wete assembled in the Refectorie of the Monkes at Westminster (and said) *Reuerend Fathers, if any heere will contradict the Kings demaunde in this businesse, let him stand out in the middest of the Assemblie, that his person may bee knowne, and seene, as one guilty of the Kings peace.* Ar which speech they all sate mute. So much were the times altered since ihe late reigne of the father, wherein such a businesse could nor haue so passed. But now this Actiue King being come home, and hauing composed his affaires abroad, must needes bee working, both to satisfie his owne desire in amplyfying his powre, and interrayning his people in those times incompatible of rest; and therefore some action must bee taken in hand.

Mat. West.

An occasion taken for subduing of Wales.

Wales, that lay neerest rhe daunger of a superiour Prince, and had euer strugled for libertie, and rhe rule of a Natiue Gouernor; had alwaies beene the Receptacle, and ayde of the Rebellious of *England*: had euer combined with *Scotland* ro disturbe the peace, and gouerument thereof: hauing neuer her borders withour bloud, and mischiefe; was an apt subiect to bee wrought vpon in this rime. And occasions are easily taken, where there is a purpose ro quarrell, especiallie wirh an Inferiour. *Leoline*, now Prince of rhat Prouince, who had so long held in rhe fite of the late ciuile warres of *England* (and deerely paide for it) hauing refused vpon summons ro come to the Kings Coronation, and afrer to his first Parliament (alledging hee well remembred, how his father *Griffin* burst his necke out of the Tower of *London*, for which he brooked not that place) and thetefore returned answere, *That in any other, vpon Hostages giuen him, (or Comissioners sent to take his Fealtie, hee would (as it should please the King) bee ready to render it.* This gaue occasion that King *Edward* the next yeare afrer, goes with a powerfull Armie: enters his Country with Fire and Sword in so fierce manner, as *Leoline* (vnable to resist) sues for Peace, and obtaines it, but vpon those conditions, as made his Principallitie litrle diffetent from the tenure of a subiect. And besides hee was fined in fifry thousand pounds sterling, and to pay 1000 pounds *per annum* for what hee held, which was but for his owne life. But yet the King to gratifie him in some thing that might be a tye ro this Peace, restored vnto him *Elionor* (daughter to *Simon Montfort* lare Earle of *Leicester*) who, with her brother *Almaricke* had beene lately raken prisoners by certaine shippes of *Bristoll*, as shee was passing out of *France* into *Wales*, to bee made the miserable wife of this vnfortunate Prince. Whose restraint, and affliction might pethaps bee a motiue, the rather to incline him to this lownesse of submission, and accord: which, as it was made by force (an vnsure contractor of Couenants) so was it by disdaine, as ill an obseruer, soone broken. And either the ill administration of Iustice vpon the Marches (the perpetuall Fire-matches of bordting Princes) or the euer-working passion of desire of Libertie in the *Welsh*, threw open againe (within three yeares) this ill insensed closure. And out is *Leoline* in armes; surprises rhe Castles of *Flint*, and *Ruthland*, with the person of the Lord *Clifford* sent Iusticiar into those parts: and commits all acts of Hostilitie. Wirh him ioynes his brother *Dauid*, on whom King *Edward* (to make him his, finding him of a more stirring spirit) had bestowed, after the last accord, the honour of Knight-hood; matched him to the daughter of the Earle of *Derbie*, a ritch Widdow: and giuen him, in steed of his other lands, the Castle of *Denbigh* with 1000 pounds *per annum*. All which graces could not yet hold him backe from those powrefull inclynations of Nature. *The aydinge his Country, the partaking with his Brother, and the attempting of Libertie.*

Reg. 4. An. 1276.

Reg. 6. Anno. 1278.

King *Edward* aduertised of this Reuolt (being ar the *Vize* in *Wiltshire*) prepares an Armie to represse ir. But before his setting foorth, hee priuately goes ro visit his Mother Queene *Elionor* liuing in the *Nunnery* at *Amsbury*; with whom whilst he conferred,

ferted, there was brought into the Chamber one who faigned himselfe (being blinde) to haue receiued his sight at the Tombe of *Henry* 3. As soone as the King saw the man, he formerly knew him to be a most notorious lying Villaine. *And wished his Mother in no case to beleeue him.* His Mother, who much reioyced to heare of this Miracle (for the gloty of her husband) grew sodainely into rage, *and willed the King to auoyd her Chamber.* The King obayes, and going footth meets with a Clergie man, to whom he tells the storie of this Imposter, and merrily said, *He knew the Iustice of his father to be such, that he would rather pull out the eies (being whole) of such a wicked wretch; then restore them to their sight.*

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* (to whom the *Welsh* had before sent a Roll of their grieuances, and the causes that draue them to reuolt) of himselfe goes, and labours to bring in *Leoline*, and his brother to a resubmission and stay the ruine which hee fore-saw would light vpon the Narion. But nothing could hee effect, certaine pettie defeites *Leoline* had giuen to the *English*: the instigation of his people: the conceit of a Prophecie of *Merlin* (that *Ginne of Error*) *how hee should bee shortly crowned with the* Diademe *of* Brute; so ouetweighed this poore Prince, as hee had no eare for Peace, and shorrly after no head; the same being cut off (after hee was slaine in battaile by a common souldier) and sent to King *Edward*. Who (as if his death were not sufficient withour his reproach) caused the same to bee crowned with Iuie, and set vpon the Towre of *London*. This was the end of *Leoline* the last of the Welsh Princes, betrayed (as they write) by the men of *Buelth*.

Reg. 11. *Anno.* 1283.

The death of *Leoline* the last of the *Welsh* Princes.

Shottly after, to finish this worke of bloud, is *Dauid* his brother taken in *Wales*, and iudged in *England* to an ignominious death. First drawne at a horse taile about the City of *Shrewsbury*, then beheaded, the Trunck of his Bodie deuided, his Heart, and Bowells burnt, his Head sent to accompany that of his brother on the Towre of *London*, his foure quarters to foure Cities, *Bristoll*, *Northampton*, *Yorke*, and *Winchester*: a manifold execution, and the first shewed in that kinde to this Kingdome, in the person of the sonne of a Prince, or any other Nobleman, that we read of in our Historie.

The execution of *Dauid* his brother at Shrewsburie the first in that kinde.

But this example made of one, of another, grew afrer to bee vsuall to this Nation. And euen this King (vnder whom it began) had the bloud of his owne, and his brothets race, misetably shed on many a scaffold. And iust at the sealing of this Conquest, *Alphonsus* his eldest sonne of the age of 12. yeares (a Prince of great hope) is taken away by death. And *Edward*, lately borne at *Carnaruan* (an Infant, vncertaine how to proue) is heire to the Kingdome; and the first of the English intituled (*Prince of Wales*) whose vnnaturall distruction, wee shall likewise heare of in his time.

The death of the Prince *Alphonsus*.

But thus came *Wales* (all that small portion least vnto the *Brittaines* the auncient possessors of this Isle) to bee vnited to the crowne of England, *Anno Reg.* 11. And strange it is how it could so long subsist of it selfe, as it did; hauing little or no ayde of others; little or no shipping (the hereditarie defect of their Auncestors) no Alliance, no confederation, no intelligence with any forraine Princes of powre out of this Isle: and being by so potent a Kingdome as this, so often inuaded, so often reduced to extremitie, so eagerly pursued, almost by euery King, and said, to haue beene (by many of them) subdued, when it was not; must needs shew the worthinesse of the Nation, and their noble courage to preserue their libertie. And how it was now at last gotten, and vpon what ground wee see; But the effect proues better then the cause, and hath made it good. For in such Acquisitions as these, the *Sword* is not to giue an Account to *Iustice*; the publique benefit makes amends. Those miserable Mischiefes that afflicted both Nations come hereby extinguished. The Deuision and Pluralitie of States in this Isle, hauing euer made it the Stage of bloud, and confusion: as if Nature that had ordained it but one Peece, would haue it to bee gouerned but by one Prince, and one Law, as the most absolute glory and strength thereof, which otherwise it could neuer enioy. And now this prudent King (no lesse prouident to preserue then subdue this Prouince) established the gouernment ther-

Wales vnited to *England*.

of according to the Lawes of *England*, as may bee seene by the Statute of *Rutland*

Anno Reg. 12.

This worke effected, and settled. King *Edward* passes ouer into *France* (vpon notice of the death of *Philip le Hardy*) to renue and confirme such conditions, as his State required in those parts with the new King, *Philip* 4 (intituled *le Bel*) to whom he doth Homage for *Aquitaine*, hauing before quitted his claime to *Normandie* for euer. And afterwards accommodates the differences betweene the Kings of *Sicile*, and *Aragon* in *Spaine* (to both of whom hee was allied) and redeemes *Charles* entituled Prince of *Achaia* (the sonne of *Charles* King of *Sicile*) prisoner in *Aragon*, paying for his ransome thirtie thousand pounds.

Reg. 13. *Anno.* 1286.

After three yeares and a halfe being abroade, hee returnes into *England*, which must now supply his Coffers emptied in this Voyage. And occasion is giuen (by the generall complaints made vnto him of the ill administration of Iustice in his absence) to inflict penalties vpon the chiefe Ministers thereof; whose manifest corruptions, the hatred to the people of men of that profession (apt to abuse their Science, and Autoritie) the Necessitie of reforming so grieuous a mischiefe in the Kingdome, gaue easie way thereunto by the Parliament then assembled; wherein, vpon due examinations, and proofe of their extortions, they are fined to pay to the King these summes following.

Reg. 16. *An.* 1289.

First Sir *Ralph Hengham* Chiefe Iustice of the higher Bench, seuen thousand Marks. Sir *Iohn Loueton* Iustice of the lower Bench, three thousand Markes. Sir *William Bromton* Iustice, 6000 Markes. Sir *Solomon Rochester*, foure thousand Markes. Sir *Richard Boyland*, 4000 Markes. Sir *Thomas Sodington*, two thousand Markes. Sir *Walter Hopton*, 2000 Markes: these foure last were Iustices Itenerants. Sir *William Saham* 3000 Markes. *Robert Lithbury* Master of the Rolls, 1000 Markes. *Roger Leicester*, 1000 Markes. *Henry Bray Escheater*, and Iudge for the Iewes, 1000 Markes. But Sir *Adam Stratton* Chiefe Baron of the Exchequer was fined in 34000 Markes. And *Thomas Wayland* (found the greatest delinquent, and of the greatest substance) hath all his goods, and whole estate confiscated to the King. Which were it but equall to that of Sir *Adam Stratton*, these fines being to the Kings Coffers aboue one hundred thousand Markes; which, at the rate (as money goes now) amounts to aboue 300 thousand Markes. A mighty treasure to bee gotten out of the hands of so few men. Which, how they could amasse in those daies, when Litigation, and Law had not spred it selfe into those infinite wrearhings of contention (as since it hath) may seeme strange, euen to our greater getting times. But peraduenture now the number of Lawyers, being growne bigger then the Law (as all trades of profit come ouerpestred with multitude of Traders) is the cause (that like a huge Riuer dispersed into many little Rilles) their substances are of a smaller proportion, then those of former times, and Offices now of Iudicature peraduenture more piously executed.

Sir *Ralf Hengham* a chiefe Commissioner for the gouernment of the Kingdome in the Kings absence.

Officers fined for briberie & extortion.

Of no lesse grieuance, this King the next yeare after eased his people, by the banishment of the Iewes; for which the Kingdome willingly granted him a Fifteenth. Hauing before (in *Anno Reg.* 9.) offred a fift part of their goods to haue them expelled, but then the *Iewes* gaue more, and so stayed till this time, which brought him a greater benefit by confiscating all their Immouables with their Talleis, and Obligations which amounted to an infinite valew. But now hath he made his last commoditie of this miserable people, which hauing beene neuer vnder other couer then the will of the Prince, had continually serued the turne in all the necessarie occasions of his Predecessors, but especially of his father and himselfe. And in these reformations that are easefull, and pleasing to the State in generall; the Iustice of the Prince is more noted, then any other motiue, which may bee for his profit. And howsoeuer some particular men suffer (as some must euer suffer) yet they are the fayrest, and safest waies of getting: in regard the hatred of the abuses, not only discharges the Prince of all imputation of rigor, but renders him more beloued & respected of his people. And this King, hauing much to doe for money (comming to an emptie Crowne) was driuen to all shifts possible to get it, and great supplies wee finde, hee had alreadie

The banishment of the Iewes.

drawne

drawne from his Subiects. As in the first yeere of his Raigne, *Pope Gregorie* procured him a Tenth of the *Clergie* for 2. yeeres, besides a *Fifteenth* of them, and the *Temporalty*. In the third likewise another *Fifteenth* of both. In the Fift, a *Twentieth* of their goods towards the *Welsh Warres*. In the seauenth the Old Money was called in, and New coyned in regard it had beene much defaced by the *Iewes*, for which 297. were at one time executed at London, and this brought him in a great benefit. In *Anno Reg.*8. seeking to examine Mens Titles to their Lands by a Writt of *Quo Warranto* (which opposed by the Earle *Warreine*, who drew out his Sword vpon the Writt, saying; *How by the same hee held his Land, and thereby would make good his Tenure*) the King desists & obtaines a *Fifteenth* of the *Clergie*. In the Eleauenth, he had a *Thirtieth* of the *Temporaltie*, & a *Twentieth* of the *Clergie* for the *Welsh Warres*. In the Thirteenth, *Escuage*, forty shillings for euery Knights fee for the same purpose. In the Fourteenth, he had a Thousand Marks of certaine Marchants fined for false Weights. In the Seauenteenth, those fines fore-declared of the Iudges. In the Eighteenth, this Confiscation of *Iewes*, & a *Fifteenth* of the *English*. After this *Anno Reg Nineteenth* pretending a Voyage to the *Holy-Land*, the *Clergie* grants him an *Eleauenth* part of all their Moueables, and shortly after the *Pope* procures him a *Tenth* for Six yeeres to bee collected in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and laid vp in Monasteries vntill hee were entred into *Mare Maggior*. But hee made the Collectors pay him the money gathered for Three yeeres without going so farre, hauing occasion to vse it at home, about the purchase of a new Kingdome.

His many supplies, & means for Money.

Reg. 17. *Anno.* 1290.

For, the crowne of *Scotland* (vpon the death of King *Alexander*, & of the Daughter of his daughter *Margaret*, who was to inherit) was now in controuersie: Six Competitors pretend title thereunto; all discending from *Dauid* earle of *Huntingdon*, younger brother to *William* King of *Scots*, and great Vncle to this late King *Alexander*. This title King *Edward* takes vpon him to decide, pretending a right of Superioritie from his Ancestors ouer that Kingdome. The *Scotts* which swayed the *Interregnum*, are constrayned for auoyding further inconueniences, to make him Arbiter thereof, and the Six Competitors bound to stand to his Award. Two are especially found, betweene whome the Right lay: *Iohn Baliol* Lord of *Galloway*, and *Robert Bruce*: the one descending from an elder Daughter, the other from a Sonne of a younger Daughter of *Alan*, who had Married the Eldest Daughter of this *Dauid* Brother to King *William*. The Controuersie held long. Twelue of eyther Kingdome learned in the Laws, are elected to debate the same at *Berwick*: All the best *Ciuilians* in the Vniuersities of *France* are sollicited to giue their oppinions, the differences, and perplexedues whereof made the decission more difficult: According to the *Nature* of *Littigation* that euer begetts rather *Doubts* then *Resolutions*, and neuer knows well how to make an End.

The occasion of his Warres with Scotland.

King *Edward* chosen by the Scots to arbitrate the right of the pretenders to that Crowne.

Reg. 18. *Anno* 1291.

King *Edward*, the better to sway this businesse by his presence, takes his Iourney Northward, and whilst hee sought to compasse greater felicitie, hee lost the better part of what hee had in this world, his deere consort *Elionor* (who had euer attended him in all his Fortunes; the Paragon of Queenes, and the honor of Woman-hood; who is said to haue sucked the Poyson out of the Wound giuen him by the *Assasin* in the *East*, when no other meanes could preserue his Life) dies by the way in *Lincolnshire*. With whose Corps, in extreame griefe hee returnes back to *Westminster*, causing (at all especiall places where it rested by the Way) goodly engrauen Crosses, with her Statue to bee erected, As at *Stamford*, *Waltham*, *West-Cheape*, *Charing* and others, Gratefull Monuments of his Affection, and her renowned Faithfulnes.

Queene *Elionor* dies. Her Prayse.

Her Funeralls performed, back hee returnes to his *Scottish* businesse: And now Six yeeres it was since the Death of King *Alexander*, and much time hauing beene spent, and nothing concluded in this controuersie: King *Edward* that would be sure (whosoeuer preuailed) to haue the hand that should make him, deales priuately with *Bruce* (who had the weaker Title but the more friends) and promises him, if he would yeeld *Fealtie* and *Homage* to the Crowne of *England*, he would inuest him in that of *Scotland*. *Bruce* answeres, *Hee was not so desirous of Rule, as thereby to infringe the Liberties*

Scottish Hist.

Baliol made King of Scotland.

Reg. 21. Anno. 1294.

ties of his Countrie. Then with the like offer hee sets vpon *Baliol*, who hauing better right but lesse loue of the people, and more greedy of a Kingdome, then honour yeelds thereunto: is Crowned King at *Scone*: hath Fealty done him of all the chiefe Nobility, except *Bruce*: comes to *New-castle vpon Tyne* where King *Edward* then lay: and there (with many of his Nobles) sweares Fealtie, and did Homage vnto him, as his Soueraigne Lord. Which Act, as hee thought done to secure him, ouer-threw him. For, being little beloued before, hereby hee became lesse: such as stood for *Bruce*, and others of the Nobility (more tender of the preseruation of their Countries libertie) grew into Stomack against him; as hauing not onely discontented them in this Act, but shortly after in his Iustice, in the case of the Earle of *Fife*, one of the six Gouernours in the time of the *Anarchie*, who had beene slaine by the Famelie of *Aberneth*. And the brother of this Earle now prosecuted in Law, before King *Balioll* in his high Court of Parliament (where hauing no right done him, King *Baliol* giuing Iudgement on the side of the *Aberneths*) the wronged Gentleman appeales to the Court of the King of *England*. King *Baliol* is thither summoned: appeares, sits with King *Edward* in his Parliament till his cause was to be tried, and then is hee cited by an Officer to arise and stand at the place appointed for pleading: He craues to answere by a Procurator: it is denied: then himselfe arises, and discends to the ordinary place, and defends his cause.

Baliol discontented returnes into Scotland.

Reg. 23. An. 1296.

With which Indignity (as hee tooke it) hee returnes home, with a brest full charged with indignation: Meditates reuenge, renewes the ancient League with *France*: Confirmes it with the marriage of his sonne *Edward*, with a daughter of *Charles* brother to King *Philip*, glad, in regard of late offences taken against the King of *England*, to imbrace the same: Which done, *Baliol* defies King *Edward*: renounces his Allegiance as vnlawfully done, being not in his powre (without the consent of the State) to doe any such act. Hereupon brake out that mortall dissention betweene the two Nations (which during the raigne of the three last Scottish Kings had held faire correspõdence together) that consumed more Christian bloud; wrought more spoyle, and distruction, and continued longer then euer quarrell wee read of did betweene any two people of the World. For hee that began it could not end it. That Rancor which the Sword had bred, and the perpetually-working desire of Reuenge of wrongs (that euer beget wrongs) lasted almost three hundred yeares. And all the Successors of this King (euen to the last, before this blessed Vnion) haue had their shares more or lesse in this miserable affliction, both to their great expence of treasure, & extreame hindrance in all other their designes. Although the intention of this Great and Marshall King for reducing this whole Isle vnder one gouernment, was Noble, and according to the Nature of powre, and greatnesse, that euer seekes to extend it selfe as farre as it can: yet as all such Actions hath much of iniquity, so had this, and we see it was not force or the Sword could effect it. God had fore-decreed to make it his owne worke by a cleaner way, and ordained it for an vnstained hand to set it togerher in peace, that it might take the more sure, and lasting hold, which otherwise it could neuer haue done. Violence may ioyne Territories, but neuer affections together; which onely must grow voluntarily, and bee the worke of it selfe. And yet no doubt it was in the designe of this King to haue obtained it in the faireſt manner he could. As first shewes his seeking to match his sonne *Edward* with *Margaret* daughter to the King of *Norway*, grand-child, and heire to the last King *Alexander*, who (dying an Infant soone after her grandfather) disapointed his hopes that way: and draue him to haue recourse to his Soueraignty, which being opposed, he was forced to take the way of Violence, both to maintaine his owne honor, and to effect what hee had begunne. Whereof the miserable euents were such, as now we may well spare their memorie, and be content those bloudy Relations should bee razed out of all Record: but that they serue to shew vs the wofull calamities of our seperation, and the comfortable blessings wee inioy by this our happy Vnion. Neither doth it now concerne vs to stand vpon any points of Honor, whether of the Nations did the braueſt Exploites in those times, seeing who had the better was beaten

The occasion of the wartes betweene England and Scotland.

beaten, neither did the ouercommer conquere, when hee had done what he could: That little which was gained, cost so much more then it was worth, as it had beene better not to haue beene had at all. And if any side had the Honor, it was the inuaded Nation, which beeing the Weaker, and Smaller, seemes neuer to haue beene subdued, though often ouercome: Continuing (notwithstanding all their miseries) resolute to preserue their Liberties; which neuer People of the World more Noblie defended, against so Potent, & rich a Kingdome as this, by the which, without an admirable hardinesse, and Constancie, it had beene impossible, but they must haue beene brought to an vtter consternation.

For all what the Powre of this Kingdome could doe (which then put all the strength to doe what it could) was shewed in this Kings time: Who now (vpon this defection of King *Baliol*, and his League made with *France*) Counter-leagues with all the Princes he could draw in, eyther by gifts, or Allyance to strengthen his partie abroad. As first with *Guy* Earle of *Flanders*, with whose Daughter hee seekes to match his Sonne *Edward*. Then with *Adolph de Nassaw* the Emperor, to whome he sends Fifteene thousand pounds Sterling to recouer certaine Lands of the Empire which *Adolph* claymed in *France*: He had likewise married one of his daughters to the Duke of *Barr*, who pretends Title to *Champaign*, another to *Iohn* Duke of *Brabant*: All which, with many other confining Princes, hee sets vpon the King of *France*; who had (for Certaine spoiles committed on the Coast of *Normandy*, by the *English*, and no redresse obtayned) summoned King *Edward*, as owing Homage to that Crowne, to appeare and answere it in his Court, which hee refusing to doe, is by an Arrest condemned to forfeyt all his Territories in *France*: And an Armie is presently sent forth to seize vpon the same, led by *Charles de Valois*, and *Arnold de Neele* Constable of *France*. *Burdeaux* with diuers other Peeces of importance are taken, and fortified. For the recouerie whereof, the King of *England* sends ouer his Brother *Edmond* Earle of *Lancaster*, the Earles of *Lincolne* and *Richmond* with eight and twentie Bannerets, Seauen hundred men at Armes, and a Nauie of three hundred and Sixtie Sayle. And notwithstanding all this mighty chargde, and Forces imployed in those parts. King *Edward* sets vppon King *Baliol* (refusing vppon Summons to appeare at his Court at *Newcastle*, standing vpon his owne Defence) and enters *Scotland* with an Armie sufficient to Conquer a farre mightier Kingdome, consisting of Foure Thousand men at Armes on Horse, and Thirtie Thousand Foote, besides 500. Horse, and one Thousand foote of the Bishop of *Duresme*: intending here to make speedy worke that hee might afterward passe ouer Sea to ayde his Confederats, and bee reuenged on the King of *France*.

King *Edward* combines with other Princes.

An Army sent into France

Another into Scotland.

Reg. 24. *Anno.* 1297.

Berwick is first wonne with the Death of Fifteene Thousand *Scotts*, (our writers report more: but nothing is more vncertaine then the number of the slaine in Battaile) and after that the Castles of *Dunbarre*, *Roxborough*, *Edenborough*, *Sterling*, and Saint *Iohns* Towne were wonne or yeelded vnto him, King *Baliol* sues for peace: Submits himselfe; takes againe his Oath of *Fealtie* to King *Edward* as his Soueraigne Lord. Which done, a Parliament for *Scotland* was held at *Berwick*, wherein the Nobilitie did likewise Homage vnto him, confirming the same by their Charter vnder their hands, and Seales. Onely *William Dowglasse* refuses, content rather to endure the misery of a Prison, then yeelde to the subiection of *England*. King *Baliol* (Notwithstanding his submission) is sent Prisoner into *England*, after his Foure yeeres dignitie, I cannot say Raigne: For it seemes hee had but little Powre, and King *Edward* returnes from this expedition, leauing *Iohn Warrein* Earle of *Surrey* and *Sussex*, Warden of all *Scotland*, *Hugh Cressingham* Treasorer, and *Ormesley* Cheife Iustice, with Commission to take in his Name the *Homages*, and *Fealties* of all such as held Lands of that Crowne.

King *Edwards* victories in Scotland.

And heere this Conquest might seeme to haue beene effected, which yet was not. It must cost infinite more Blood, Trauaile, and Treasure, and all to as little effect. And now the *French* businesses (that require speedy helpe) are wholly intended. For which King *Edward* calls a Parliament at Saint *Edmonds Bury*, wherein the Cittizens, and Bur-

Reg. 25. *Anno.* 1298.

Burgesses of good Townes graunted the eighth part of their goods, and other of the people a twelfth part. But the Clergie (vpon a prohibition from Pope *Boniface*, that no Tallage or Imposition, layde by any lay Prince, vpon whatsoeuer appertained to the Church should bee paide) absolutely refuse to giue any thing. Which Prohibition may seeme to haue beene procured by themselues, in regard of the many Leauies lately made vpon the estate Ecclesiasticall. As in *Anno Reg.* 22. they paied the moietie of their goods; of which the Abbay of *Canterbury* yeelded 596 pounds 7 shillings and 10 pence: and besides furnished sixe horses for the Sea-coasts. This Leauie as *Stow* notes in his collection amounted to sixe hundreth thousand pounds. And in *Anno Reg.* 23. the King seized into his hands all the Priories Aliens, and their goods. Besides hee had a Loane of the Clergie, which amounted to 100 thousand pounds, whereof the Abbat of *Bury* paide 655 pounds.

The King puts the Clergie out of his protection.

Notwithstanding now, vpon this their refusall, the King puts the Clergie out of his protection, whereby they were to haue no Iustice in any of his Courts (a straine of State beyond any of his Predecessors) which so amazed them being exposed to all offences and iniuries whatsoeuer, and no meanes to redresse themselues, as the Archbishop of *Yorke*, with the Bishops of *Duresme*, *Ely*, *Salisbury*, *Lincolne*, yeelded to lay downe in their Churches the fifth part of all their goods, towards the maintenance of the Kings warres: whereby they appeazed his wrath, and were receiued into grace. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* by whose animation the rest stood out, had all his goods seized on, and all the Monasteries within his Diocesse and part of *Lincoln*, taken into the Kings hands, and Wardens appointed to minister onely necessaries to the Monkes, conuerting the rest to the Kings vse. At length by much suite, the Abbots, and Priests giuing the fourth part of their goods, redeeme themselues, and the Kings fauour. Thus will Martiall Princes haue their turnes serued by their Subiects, in the times of their Necessities howsoeuer they oppose it.

The Lords refuse to goe into Gascoigny except the King went in person.

During this contrast with the Clergie, the King calls a Parliament of his Nobles at *Salisbury*, without admission of any Church-men; wherein, *hee requires certaine of the great Lords to goe vnto the warres of Gascoine*, which required a present supply, vpon the death of his brother *Edmond* (who hauing spent much treasure, and time in the siege of *Burdeaux* without any successe, retyres to *Bayon*, then in possession of the *English*, and there ends his life. *But they all making their excuses, every man for himselfe; the King in great anger threatned they should either goe, or hee would giue their lands to others that should. Whereupon* Humfrey Bohun *Earle of* Hereford *high Constable, and* Roger Bigod *Earle of* Norfolke *Mareschall of* England, *make their declaration, that if the King went in person they would attend him, otherwise not.* Which Answere more offends, and being vrged againe; *the Earle Mareschall protested hee would willingly goe thither with the King, and march before him in the Vantgard, as by right of inheritance hee ought to doe. But the King told him plainely hee should goe with any other, although himselfe went not in person. I am not so bound said the Earle, neither will I take that iourney without you. The King swore by God, Sir Earle you shall goe or hang. And I sweare by the same oath, I will neither goe, nor hang,* said the Earle: and so without taking his leaue departs.

Mat. West.

Shortly after the two Earles assembled many Noblemen, and others their friends to the number of thirty Bannerets, so that they were fifteene hundred men at Armes well appointed, and stood vpon their owne guard. The King like a prudent Prince who knew his times, prosecutes them not as then, but lets the matter passe: In regard that both his businesse in *France*, and the pressing necessity of ayding his Confederats (whereon his honour, and whole estate abroad depended) called him ouer into *Flanders*; which the King of *France* had now inuaded; pretending the same title of Soueraignty to that Prouince, as King *Edward* did to *Scotland*. And hauing had intelligence of the intended Alliance, and other designes of the Earle *Guy*, sends for him (as if knowing nothing therof) to come with his wife, and daughter to make merry with him at *Paris*: where in steed of feasting, he makes him his prisoner, and takes from him his Daughter, in regard he sought being his vassall to match her to the Son of his capitall enemy. The Earle excuses it the best he could, and by much mediation is released, and

The French King inuites the Earle of Flanders to Paris, and there imprisons him.

and suffered to depart, but without his Daughter: of whose surprize, and detention (contrary to the Law of Nations) he complaines to the Pope, and other Princes, who earnestly vrge the release of the young Lady, but all in vaine; and thereupon this Earle (presuming on the ayde of his confederates) takes armes, and defies the king of *France*. Who now comes with an Army of sixty thousand against him; which caused the King of *England* to make what speed he could, to releeue this distressed Earle; and to leaue all his other businesses at home in that broken estate which hee did; the *Scots* in reuolt, and his owne people in discontent. For which yet hee tooke the best order he could: leauing the administration of the Kingdome during his absence to the Prince, and certaine especiall Councellors, as the Bishop of *London*, the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Lords *Reginald Gray*, and *Clifford*, and besides, to recouer the Clegry receiued the Archbishop of *Canterbury* into fauour.

The French King inuades Flanders.

And being ready now to take ship, the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, and the Commons send him a Roll of the generall grieuances of his Subiects: *Concerning his Taxes, Subsidies, & other Impositions; with his seeking to force their seruices, by vnlawfull courses: his late impost layd of fortie shillings vpon euery sack of Wooll, being before but half a marke, estimating the Wooll of* England, *to a fift part of all the substance thereof.* The King sends answere, *that he could not alter any thing without the aduice of his councell, which were not now about him: and therefore required them, seeing they would not attend him in this iourney (which they absolutely refused to doe though hee went in person, vnlesse hee had gone into* France *or* Scotland) *that they would yet doe nothing in his absence preiudiciall to the peace of the Kingdome. And that vpon his Returne, hee would set all things in good order as should bee fit.*

This roll of grieuances is recorded by *Tho. Wal.* viz. Append. *Reg.* 26. *Anno.* 1299.

And so with 500 saile, eighteene thousand men at Armes, he puts out for this iourney, wherein Fortune shewed him, how she would not be alwaies his: For contrary to his expectation he found the Country of *Flanders* distracted into popular factions; a ritch & proud people, who though they were willing to ayde their Prince, and defend their liberties (which they respected more then their obedience) yet would they not bee commanded otherwise then themselues pleased. And now the King of *France*, dayly getting vpon them (hauing wonne *Lisle*, *Doway*, *Courtray*, *Bruges*, and *Dam*; and the Emperour *Adolph* sayling of his ayde and personall assistance, as vn-interessed confederates often doe, especially hauing receiued their gage before hand, as had this Emperour to the summe of 100 thousand Markes) draue the King of *England* into great perplexitie, and held him with long delayes, to his extreame trauaile and expences: which forced him to send ouer for more supply of Treasure, and giue order for a Parliament to be held at *Yorke* by the Prince, and such as had the manage of the State in his absence. Wherein, for that he would not bee disapointed, he condiscends to all such Articles as were demaunded concerning the great Charter: promising from thencefoth neuer to charge his subiects otherwise then by their consents in Parliament, and to pardon such as had denied to attend him in this iourney. For which the Commons of the Realme granted him the ninth penny of their goods: the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Clergie of his Prouince, the Tenth penny: *Yorke*, and his Prouince, the Fifth: so the Kings instant wants are relieued, and the Kingdome satisfied for a present shift. But it is not well with a State, where the Prince, and people seeke but to obtaine their seuerall ends, and worke vpon the aduantages of each others necessities: for as it is vn-sincere, so it is often vn-successfull, and the good so done hurts more, then it pleasures.

King *Edward* passes ouer into Flanders to the ayd of the Earle *Guy*.

A Parliament held at Yorke in the absence of the King.

The King thus supplied, staies all this Winter in *Gaunt*, where his people committing many outrages, so exasperats the *Gantois*; as they tooke armes, made head against them, slue many, and put the Kings person in great daunger: so that, doe what the Earle *Guy*, and himselfe could to appease them, in satisfying such, as had receiued wrong, and giuing the rest faire words, he hardly could escape safe out of the Country; which rather desired to haue the *English* commodities, then their companies. This was the successe of his iourney into *Flanders*, which he leaues at the Spring of the yeare, hauing concluded a truce with the King of *France* for two yeares. And the

The Gantois take armes against the English.

King *Edward* in danger.

Hee returnes into England.

the poore Earle *Gny* left to himselfe is shortly after made the prey of his enemy, and his Prisoner in *Paris*; where he & his daughter both died of griefe. And *Flanders* is reduced to a possession, though not to the subiection of the King of *France*. For after they had receiued him for their Lord, his exactions & oppressions vpon them, contrary to their ancient Libetties so armed the whole people, being rich and mighty, as they gaue *France* the greatest wound that euer before it receiued at one blow; which was at the famous battell of *Courtray*, wherein the Earle of *Artoise* Generall of the Army, *Arnold de Neel* Constable of *France*, and all the Leaders with Twelue thousand Gentlemen were slaine. And to show what this King of *France* got, by seeking to attaine this Soueraigntie of *Flanders* (as well, as we shall heare of the King of Englands getting vpon *Scotland* for the same title). It is recorded in their Histories, that in the space of Eleuen yeates, this quarell cost the liues of 100 Thousand *French* men. Besides it draue the King likewise to consume the substances of his people, as well as their blood, and to loade them with new impositions as, that of *Malletoste* and the Tenth *Denier* vpon the *liure* of all Merchandises, which in the Collection bred great outcries, and dangerous seditions among his Subiects: And these were the fruits of these great attempters.

The History of *France*.

Now for King *Edward* of England, he presently after his returne, falles a new vpon *Scotland*, which in his absence had beaten his officers, and people almost out of the Countrie, slaine Sir *Hugh Cressingham* with 6000 *English*: recoueted many Castles, and regaind the Towne of Berwick. And all by the annimation and conduct of *William Wallice* a poore priuate Gentleman (though nobly discended) who seeing his Counttie without a Head, and thereby without a Heart (all the great men either in Captiuity or subiection) assembles certaine of as poore and desperate estate as himselfe, and leades them to attempt vpon whatsoeuer aduantages they could discouer, to annoy the *English*. And hauing therein good successe, it so increased both his Courage, and Company; as hee afterwards comes to be the generall *Gardian* of the whole Kingdome: leads their Armies; effects those great Defeits vpon the Enemy: and was in possibility to haue absolutely redeemed his Counttie, from the subiection of *England*) had not some priuate Emulation amongst themselues, & the speedy cõming of King *Edward*, with all his power) preuented him. So much could the spirit of one braue man worke, to sett vp a whole Nation vpon their feet, that lay vtterly cast downe. And as well might hee at that time haue gotten the Dominion for himselfe, as the place he had: but that he held it more glory to preserue his Countrie, than to get a Crowne. For which, he hath his immortall honour; and whatsoeuer praise can bee giuen to meere Vertue, must be euer due vnto him.

Reg. 27. *Anno.* 1300.

K. *Ed.* prosecutes his *Scottish* businesse.

Will. Wallice animates the *Scots* against the subiection of *England*.

And now King *Edward* to bring his worke neete together, remoues his *Escheqer* and Courts of Iustice to *Yorke*: where the continued aboue Six yeares. And thither calles hee a Parliament, requiring all his Subiects that held of him by Knights seruice, to be ready at *Roxborough* by a petemptorie day: where are assembled Three thousand men at Armes on barded Horses, and Foure thousand other armed men on Horse without bards, with an Army on foot answerable, consisting most of *Welsh*, and *Irish*: besides, Fiue hundred men at armes out of *Gasconie*, and with this power makes he his second expedition into *Scotland*.

K. *Ed.* remoues his Escheker and Courts of Iustice to *York*.

The Earles of *Hereford*, and *Norfolke*, notwithstanding their former contempts, attend him. And although he were thus guirt with all this strength, and in the midst of his mightinesse, they vrge the ratifications of the Two *Charters*, and their Pardons: which they held not sufficient to secure them, in regarde the King was out of the Realme, at the late granting thereof. The Bishop of *Duresme*, the Earles of *Surrey*, *Warwicke*, and *Gloucester* vndertooke for the King, that after hee had subdued his Enemies, and was returned, hee should satisfie them therein. And so these two Earles with the Earle of *Lincolne*, Led his Vauntguard at the famous Battell of *Fonkirke*, which the King of *England* gat, wherein are reported to be slaine, 200 Knights, and Forty thousand foot of the *Scots*. But *William Wallice* with some few escaped to make more worke.

The famouse Battell of *Fonkirk*.

The *Scots* ouerthrowne.

And

And here againe that Kingdome might seeme, as if quite ouercome. Most of the estates of the Earles, and Barons of *Scotland* (with their titles) that had stood out were bestowed on the *English* Nobility, to make them the more egar to maintaine & prosecute this Conquest. And a Parliament is called at *Saint Andrewes*, where all the great men of that kingdome (except onely *Wallice*) againe sweare *Fealtie* to the King of *England*.

A Parliament at St. *Andrewes*.

The *Scottish* writers here set a wide marke of Tyrannie vpon King *Edward* in this expedition, *as not content to carry away captiue all such as might seeme to haue any the least ability to stirre: but also endeauours to extinguish if it were possible, the very memory of the Nation: abolishing all their ancient lawes, traducing their Ecclesiastic all rights, to the custome of* England: *dispoiling them of their Histories: their instruments of State: their Antique Monuments, left either by the* Romanes, *or erected by themselues: transporting all their Bookes and Bookemen into* England: *Sending to* London *the Marble stone, wherein (as the Vulgar were perswaded) the Fate of the Kingdome consisted: and left them nothing that might either encite them to remember their former fortune, or instruct generous spirits in the way of Vertue and worthinesse. So that he bereaued them not onely of their strength: but of their mindes: supposing thereby to establish a perpetuall Domination ouer that Kingdome.*

The *Scottish* writers inueigh against the tyranny of K. *Ed.*

This iourney ended, a Parliament is called at *Westminster*, wherein the promised confirmation of the Two *Charters*, and the allowance of what disforrestation had heretofore beene made, was earnestly vrged, and in the end with much a doe granted, with omission of the *Clause, Saluo Iure Coronæ nostræ*, which the King laboured to haue inserted, but the people would not indure the same: the perambulation of the Forrests of *England* is committed to Thre Bishops, Three Earles, & Three Barons.

A Parliament at *Westminster*.

In this little pause of Peace at home, a Concord is, by the mediation of *Pope Boniface*, concluded with the King of *France*: whose sister *Margeret*, the King of *England* takes to wife in the Sixty two yeare of his age (somthing too late for so young a Match) and the Daughter of the same King is likewise affianced to the Prince. And thereupon restitution made of what had been vsurped by the *French* King in *Gasconie*. *Burdeaux* returnes to the obedience of the King of *England* (to the Merchants of which Citie he paid 150 Thousand poũds for his brother *Edmonds* expences in the late wars, & all is well on that side. Besides the same *Pope* obtained permission, for *Iohn Baliol* the captiue King of *Scots* to depart and liue in *France* vpon certaine lands he had there, and vndertooke for his obseruation of the Peace, and his confinement, who shortly after dies, hauing had little ioy of a Crowne or scarce leasure to know hee was a King. The Decrying, and calling in of certaine base Coine named *Crocard*, and *Pollard*, with the new stamping them againe, yeelded something to the Kings Coffers: which must be emptied in *Scotland*, whither againe (hauing beene scarce Eighteene moneths at home) he makes his Third expedit. but did little, besides the regaining of Sterling Castle which held out Three moneths siege against all his power, and Ingines reared with infinite charge, and labour. And in the end not wonne but yelded vp by the Defendant *William Oliuer*, vpon promise which was not kept with him. The rest of the *Scots* made no head, but kept in the Mountaines, and Fastnesses of their Country: whereby the Kings Armie hauing more to doe with barrennesse then men, suffered much affliction and many Horses were starued.

Reg. 28. *Anno.* 1301.

Now vpon this Peace with *France*, the *Scots* being excluded and hauing none to relieue them, send their lamentable complaints to *Pope Boniface, shewing him the afflicted state of their Countrie: the vsurpation of the King of* England *vpon them, and his most tyrannicall proceeding with them, contrarie to all right and equity. Protesting they neuer knew of any Soueraigntie he had ouer them, but that they were a free kingdome of themselues; and so at first hee dealt with them, vpon the death of their last King* Alexander, *both in the treaty of the mariage for his sonne* Edward, *with* Margaret *the heire of* Scotland: *and also after her death for the decision of the Title, wherein he sought by their consents to be made Arbitror, as hee was. Howsoeuer afterward they were constrained to giue way to his will; yet, what they euer yeelded vnto was by reason they were otherwise vnable to resist &c.* Vpon this remonstrance of the *Scots*, the *Pope* writes his powerfull letters to

to the King of *England*, to forbeare any further proceeding against them; Claiming withall, the Soueraintgie of that Kingdome, as belonging to the Church.

The King answeres the *Popes* Letters at large. *Alledging from all Antiquity, how the direct and superiour Dominion of* Scotland, *had euer appertained to this Crowne, euen from* Brute *to his owne time:* And withall the whole Nobilitie writ to the *Pope*, auowing *the same right. And absolutely conclude that the King their Lord should in no sort vndergoe his* Holinesse *iudgement therein. Neither send his Procurators (as was required) about that businesse, whereby it might seeme that doubt were made of their Kings Title, to the preiudice of the Crowne, the Royall Dignity, the Liberties, Customes and Lawes of* England; *which by their oath and dutie they were bound to obserue, and would defend with their liues. Neither would they permit, nor could, any such vn-vsuall, vn-lawfull, and detrimentall proceeding. Nor suffer their King, if hee would, to doe, or any way to attempt the same. And therefore besought his* Holinesse *to intermeddle no more in this matter.* These Letters subscribed with all their names were dated at *Lincolne*; where, then was held the Parliament *Anno Domini* 1301.

Vid. Apend.

The *Pope* vpon this answere, or rather hauing his hands full of other businesse, stirs no more in this. The King of *France* whom hee had excomunicated, and giuen away his Kingdome to the Emperour *Albert* of *Austrich*, shortly after so wrought, as his *Spirituality* was surprized at *Anagne* a City of *Abruzzo*, whither he was retyred from the troubles of *Rome*; and so violently treated by *Sciarra Colonesse*, a *Banditto* of *Rome*, and *Nogoret*, an *Albigioye* (whom he had both persecuted) as in extreame rage, and anguish within few daies after he ends his turbulent life.

Reg. 32. Anno. 1305.

And the king of *England* (hauing been supplied, with a Fifteenth vpon Confirmation of the *Charters* againe, at the Parliament at *Lincolne*) hee makes his Fourth expedition into *Scotland*, and as it were the Fourth Conquest thereof, hauing had Foure times Homage and Fealtie sworne vnto him. Which might seeme sufficient to confirme his Soueraingtie, whereof now he rests secure, and home returnes in triumphant manner: Remoues his *Eschequer* from *Yorke*: Feasts his Nobilitty at *Lincolne* with all Magnificense: From thence he comes to *London*, and renders solemne thanks to *God* and Saint *Edward* for victory. Which to make it seeme the more intire, shortly after, *William Wallice* (that renowned *Guardian* of *Scotland*, betrayed by his Companion) is sent vp prisoner to *London*: adiudged according to the Lawes of *England*, to be drawne, hangd, and quarterd, for his treasons committed against the King (whom at his Araignement hee would not yet acknowledge to bee his King) protesting neuer to haue sworne *Fealty* vnto him.

Thus suffered that worthy man for the defence of his owne in a strange Countrie, and remains amongst the best examples of Fortitude & Pietie in that kinde. And now King *Edward*, being (as hee supposed) at an end of all his businesse: an vniuersall Lord at home: strong in Alliance, and Peace abroad; beginnes to looke more seuerely to the gouernement of this Kingdome, and to draw profit out of those disorders, which the *Licence* of Warre, and Trouble had bred therein. And first, amongst other examples of his power (which it seemes hee would haue equall to his will) is the case of Sir *Nicholas Segraue*, one of the greatest Knights then of the Kingdome, who being accused of treason by Sir *Iohn Crombwell*, offers to iustifie himselfe by *Duell*, which the King refuses to grant, in regard of the present Warre then in hand. Whereupon *Segraue* without licence and contrary to the Kings prohibition, leaues the Kings Campe, and goes ouer Sea to fight with his enemy, for which the King (as against one that had not only contemned him, but as much as in him lay exposed him to death, and left him to his enemies) would haue Iustice to proceed against him. Three daies the Iudges consulted of the matter and in the end adiudged *Segraue* guilty of death, and all his moueables and immouables forfeited to the King. Notwithstanding in regard of the greatnesse of his blood, they added. Hee went not out of England in contempt of the King, but only to bee reuenged of his accuser, and therefore it was in the Kings power to shew mercy vnto him in this case. The King hereto in great wrath replyed, haue you been all this while consulting for this? I know it is in my power

The case of Sir *Nicholas Segraue.*

power to conferre grace, and on whom I will to haue mercy, but not the more for your sakes then for a dogge. Who hath euer submitted himselfe to my grace and had repulse, but let this your iudgement bee recorded and for euer held as a Law. And so the Knight for example and terrour to others, was committed to prison, though shortly after by the labour of many Noble men of the Kingdome, Thirty of his Peers guirt with their swords standing out to be bound body for body, and goods for goods to bring him forth whensoeuer hee should be called; the King restored him to his estate. *Mat. West.*

Shortly after, the King likewise sends out a new writ of inquisition, called *Trailbaston*, For Intruders on other mens lands, who to oppresse the right owner would make ouer their lands to great men: For *Batterers* hired to beate men: For *Breakers* of the Peace :For *Rauishers, Incendiaries, Murtherers, Fighters, False Assisors*, and other such Malefactors. Which Inquisition was so strictly executed, and such Fynes taken, as it brought in exceeding much treasure to the King. So did likewise another Commission the same time sent forth to examine the behauiour of Officers, and Ministers of Iustice, wherein many were found Delinquents, and paide dearely for it. Informers here, as fruitfull agents for the *Fiske* (and neuer more imployed then in shifting times) were in great request. Besides these meanes for treasure aboue ground, this King made some profit of certaine Siluer mynes in *Deuonshire*, as is to be seene in *Hollingshead*, but it seemes the charge amounting to more then the benifit, they afterwards came discontinued. The inquisition of *Trailbaston*.

The King likewise now beginnes to shew his resentiment of the stubborne behauiour of his Nobles towards him in times past; and so pacifies *Roger Bigod* Earle Marshall, as to recouer his fauour, the E. made him the gift of his lands (though hee had a brother liuing) reseruing to himselfe a Thousand pounds pension *per annum* during his life. Of others likewise, hee got great summes for the same offence. The Earle of *Hereford* escapes by death. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (whom hee accused to haue disturbed his Peace in his absence) he sends ouer to *Pope Clement* the Fift (who succeded *Boniface*) that he might be crusht with a double power. This *Pope* was Natiue of *Burdeaux*, and so the more regardefull of the Kings desire, and the King more confident of his fauour; which to intertaine and encrease hee sends him a whole Furnish of all Vessels for his Chamber of cleane golde: which great gift so wrought with the *Pope*, as hee let loose this *Lion*, vntied the King from the couenants made with his Subiects concerning their Charters confirmed vnto them by his three last Acts of Parlement, and absolued him from his oath: an Act of little Pietie in the *Pope*, and of as little conscience in the King, who (as if hee should now haue no more need of his Subiects) discouered with what sincerity hee granted what hee did. *Reg. 33. An. 1306.*

But sodainely hereupon there fell out an occasion that brought him backe to his right Orbe againe, made him see his error & reforme it, finding the loue of his people, lawfully ordered to be that which gaue him al his power, & meanes he had, & to know how their subsistances were intermutuall. The newes of a new King made, & crowned in *Scotland* was that which wrought the effect hereof. *Robert Bruce* Earle of *Carrick*, sonne to that *Robert* who was Competitor with *Baliol*, escaping out of *England*, becomes head to the confused body of that people, which, hauing beene so long without any to guide them, any intire Councell, scattered in power, disunited in minde, neuer at one together, were cast into that miserable estate as they were. For had they had a King as well as their enemies to haue led them, held them together, & managed their affaires accordingly, that which they did in this distraction, shewes how much more they would haue done otherwise. And therefore no sooner did *Bruce* appeare in his designe, but he effected it: had the Crowne, and hands ready to help him at an instant; and that before Rumour could get out to report any thing of it. Although *Iohn Comyn* his Cosen german being a Titeler himselfe, a man of great loue & Alliance in *Scotland*, wrote to haue bewrayed *Bruces* intention to the King of *England*, in whose Court they both had liued, and were his Pensioners. But *Bruce* (as great

Bruce murthers *Iohn Cumyn* in the Church.

great vndertakers are euer awake, and ready at all houres) preuents him by speede: and either to be auenged on him for his falshood, or rid of him as a Competitor, finding him at *Dunfraies*, sets vpon and murthers him in the Church.

Which Foundation laid on blood (the Place, the Person, and the manner making it more odious) much stained his beginning, and effected not that security for which he did it, but raised a mighty partie in *Scotland* against him. King *Edward* (though so late acquainted herewith, as hee could not bee before hand with him, yet would hee not bee long behind to ouertake him) sends *Amyer de Valence* Earle of *Pembrooke*, the Lords *Clifford* and *Percy* with a strong power to releeue his Wardens of *Scotland*, who vpon this Revolt were all retyred to *Berwicke*, whilst himselfe prepares an Army to follow. Wherein to be the more free, and Nobly attended, Proclamation is made, that whosoever ought by their paternall succession, or otherwise had meanes of their owne for service, should repaire to *Westminster* at the *Feast of Penticost*, to receiue the order of Knighthood, and a Military ornament out of the Kings Wardrobe.

King *Ed.* sends and prepares for *Scotland*.

Three hundred yong Gentlemen, all the sonnes of Earles, Barons, and Knights, assemble at the appointed day, & receiue Purples, Silks, Sindons, Scarffs wrought with gold or Silver, according to every mans estate: For which traine (the Kings house being too little, by reason a great part thereof was burnt vpon his comming out of *Flanders*) roome is made, and the Apple Trees cut downe at the New Temple for their Tents, where they attire themselues and keep their Vigil. The Prince (whom the King then likewise Knighted, and guirt with a Militarie Belt, as an ornament of that honour; and withall gaue him the Duchy of *Acquitaine*) kept his *Vigile* with his traine at *Westminster*, and the next day guirds these Three Hundred Knights with the Militarie Belt, in that manner as himselfe receiued it. At which ceremonie the presse was so great, as the Prince was faine to stand vpon the high Altar (a place for a more diuine honour) to performe this: Which being solemnized, with all the State and Magnificence could be deuised, the King before them all makes his vow, that aliue, or dead, he would reuenge the death of *Iohn Cumyn* vpon *Bruce*, and the periured *Scots*: Adiuring his sonne, and all the Nobles about him vpon their *Fealty*, that if he dyed in this Iourney, they should carry his corps with them about *Scotland*, and not suffer it to be interred, till they had vanquished the *Vsurper*, and absolutely subdued the Country. A desire more Martiall then Christian, shewing a minde so bent to the world, as he would not make an end when he had done with it, but designes his travaile beyond his life.

The Prince gives the honor of Knighthood to 300 Gentlemen.

Reg. 34. *An.* 1307.

The Prince, and all his Nobles promise vpon their faith to imploy their vtmost power to performe his Vow, and so vpon grant of the *Thirtieth peny of the Clergie and the Laity*, and the *Twentieth* of all Marchants, hee sets forth with a potent Army presently vpon *Whitsontide* and makes his last expedition into *Scotland*, *Anno Reg.* 34. The Earle of *Pembrooke*, with that power sent before, and the aide of the *Scottish* partie (which was now greater by the partakers of the Family of *Cumyn*, being many, mighty, & egar to reuenge his death) had, before the King arrived in *Scotland*, defeited in a battell neere S. *Iohns* towne, the whole Army of the new King, and narrowly missed the taking of his person: Who escaping in disguise recovered an obscure shelter, and was reserved for more, and greater battailes: His brother *Nigell Bruce*, and shortly after *Thomas*, and *Alexander* a *Priest*, were taken and executed after the manner of Traytors at *Berwicke*; so that K. *Edward* at his comming, had not so much to do as he expected. But yet he passed ouer the Country, to shew them his power, and to terrifie his enemies, causing strict inquisition to be made for all who had been aiding to the murther of *Cumyn*, and the advancement of *Bruce*. Many, and great Personages are found out (being impossible amongst a broken people for any to remaine vndiscovered) and were all executed in cruell manner to the terrour of the rest. The Age of the King of England, his Cholar, Wrath, & desire of revenge made him now inexorable, & to spare none of what degree soever they were. The Earle of *Athol* (though of the Royall bloud, and allyed vnto him) was sent to *London*, and preferd to a higher Gallowes

A great execution made of the Scots.

lowes then any of the rest. The wife of *Robert Bruce* taken by the Lord *Rosse* is sent prisoner to *London*, and his daughter to a Monastery in *Lindsey*. The Countesse of *Boughan* that was aiding at the Coronation of *Bruce* is put into a woodden Cage, and hung out vpon the walles of *Berwicke*, for people to gaze on &c.

Which rigorous proceeding rather exasperates the Enemy, and addes to the party of *Bruce*, then any way quailed it: *desperation* beeing of a sharper edge, then *hope*. And though *Bruce* now appeared not, but shifted priuily from place to place, in a distressed manner (attended onely with two noble Gentlemen, who neuer forsooke him in his fortunes, the Earle of *Lenox*, and *Gilbert Hay*) yet still expectation, loue, and the well-wishing of his friends went with him, and so long as hee was aliue they held him not lost; this affliction did but harden him for future labours: which his enemies (who now neglected to looke after him, as either holding him dead, or so downe as neuer to rise againe) found afterwards to their cost. For this man, from being thus laide on the ground, within few yeares after, gets vp to giue the greatest ouerthrowe to the greatest Armie, that euer the *English* brought into the Field, and to repay the measure of blood in as full manner as it was giuen.

A Parlement. at *Carliel*.

All this Sommer the King spends in *Scotland*, and winters in *Carleil*, to bee ready the next Spring if any fire should breake out, to quench it. For resolued hee is not to depart, till hee had set such an end to this worke, as it should need no more. And here hee holdes his last Parlement, wherein the State mindefull of the *Popes* late action, gott many Ordinances to passe for reformation of the abuses of his Ministers, and his owne former exactions; who being but poore, sought to get where it was to bee had. Wringing from the elect Archbishop of *Yorke* in one yeate Nine thousand fiue hundred Marks: and besides, *Anthony* Bishop of *Duresme* to be made Patriark of *Ierusalem*, gaue him and his Cardinals mighty summes. This Bishop *Anthony* is said to haue had in purchases, and inheritances, 5000 Marks *per annum*, besides what belonged to his Myter: which shewed the *Pope* the riches of this Kingdome, and moued him to require the fruits of one yeares reuenue, of euery Benefice that should fall voide in *England*, *Scotland*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*; and the like of *Abbayes*, *Priories*, and *Monasteries*: which though it were denied him, yet something hee had; the King and hee deuiding it betwixt them. The *Pope* graunted the King the Tenth of all the *Churches* of *England* for two yeares: and the King yeelded that the *Pope* should haue the First fruits of those *Churches*. And the better to effect this businesse, the *Pope* makes an errand, and sends *Petrus Hispanus* Cardinall, *a Latere* to call vpon the King for consummation of the Marriage betweene Prince *Edward*, and *Isabell* daughter to the King of *France*. And this Cardinall gott something, but not so much as he expected.

The King and Pope deuide the benefire of the Clergie.

Whilest they were thus busie at *Carliel*, about the opening of the Spring, opens himselfe the hidden King *Robert Bruce*, and with some forces hee had gotten together, soddainely assailes the Earle of *Pembrooke* at vn-awares, and gaue him a great defeit; and within Three daies after chases the Earle of *Glocester* into the Castle of *Ayr*, where he besieged him, till by the Kings forces, hee was driuen againe to his former retire. But this shewed, that so long as hee was (in what estate soeuer he was) there would be no end of this warre.

K. *Bruce* recouers new forces.

Which caused King *Edward* to send out his strict commandement, that whosoeuer ought him seruice should presently, vpon the Midsommer after, attend him at *Carliel*. And withall hee sends the Prince to *London*, about the businesse of his Marriage. In July, although hee found himselfe not well, hee enters *Scotland* with a fresh Army, which hee led not farre; for falling into a *Dissenterie*, hee dies at *Borough* vpon the sands, as if to show on what foundation hee had built all his glory in this world; hauing Raigned Thirtie foure yeares, Seuen moneths, Aged Sixty eight. A Prince of a generous spirit, wherein the fire held out euen to the very last: borne & bred for action and militarie affaires, which hee mannaged with great iudgement: euer wary, and prouident for his owne businesse: watchfull and eager to enlarge his power: and was more for the greatnesse of *England*, then the quiet thereof. And this we may iustly

K. *Ed.* enters *Scotland* and dies there.

Reg. 35. *An.* 1340.

iustly say of him, that neuer King before, or since shed so much Christian blood within this *Isle* of *Brittaine*, as this Christian warrior did in his time, and was the cause of much more in that following.

His Issue.

He had issue by his first wife Queene *Elionor* Foure Sonnes, whereof onely *Edward* suruiued him, and Nine Daughters, *Elionor* married to the Earle of *Bar*. *Ioan* to *Gilbert Clare*, Earle of *Glocester*; *Margaret* to *Iohn* Duke of *Brabant*. *Mary* liued a Nun in the Monastary of *Amsberie*. *Elizabeth* married first to *Iohn* Earle of *Holland*, after to *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, the rest died yong. He had by his Second wife Two Sonnes *Thomas* Surnamed *Brotherton* which was Mareschall & Earle of *Norfolke*, and *Edmond* Earle of *Kent*.

The end of Edward *the First.*

The Life, and Raigne of Edward *the second.*

Reg. 1. *Anno.* 1307.

EDward of *Carnaruan*, remoued more then one Degree from the Father in heigth of Spirit, and nearer the Grandfather in flexibility, and easinesse of Nature (which made him apt to be taken) began his Raigne in Iuly 1307. in the Three and twentith yeare of his Age. A Prince which shewes vs what confusion and mischiefe attends Riot, Disorder, Neglect of the State, and aduancing vnworthie, or ill-disposed Minions to the preiudice of others, the griefe of his people, and the deminution of the Royall Maiestie. And though his youth might somewhat excuse the first sicknesse of his priuate Fauours, yet those often Relapses of his shewed it was an habituall indisposition in the whole state of his Minde, not to be cured.

K. *Ed.* the first, imprisoned his sonne, and exiled *Pierce Gauestón*. *Anno Reg.* 33

Neuer was Prince receiued with greater loue, and opinion of all, or euer any that sooner lost it. For his very first actions discouered a head-strong wilfulnesse that was vncouncellable: Whereof the intertaining againe his olde Companion *Pierce Gauestón* was one, whom the Father had banished the Kingdome, finding him to haue corrupted the youth of his Sonne, and leade him to commit many ryots: amongst which was the breaking of the Parke of the Bishop of *Chester*, for which hee both imprisoned his Sonne, and exiled *Gauestón*. Besides this prouident King (as if fore-seeing the mischiefe might insue) at his death charged his Sonne (vpon his blessing) neuer to recall or entertaine *Pierce Gauestón* againe about him, and required the Lords (who were present) to see his Will obserued therein: which notwithstanding, hee brake before his Fathers Funeralls were performed; and not only intertaines, but inuests *Gauestón* in the Earledom of *Cornewale*, and the Lordship of *Man*; being both of the Demaines of the Crowne, and makes him his chiefe Chamberlaine. Then to bee reuenged on the Bishop of *Chester* his Fathers Treasurer (who had abbridged his expences, and complained of him for his ryot) hee caused him to be arrested, committed to prison, and seises vpon all his goods, which he gaue to *Gauestón*: makes a new Treasurer of his owne: remoues most of his Fathers Officers: and all without the aduice, or consent of his Councell, which gaue them their first discontent, and bewrayed his disposition.

Pirce Gauestón recalled and preferd by the King.

A Parlement at *Northampton* held before the Coronation.

Before his Coronation, a Parlement was held at *Northampton*, wherein was ordained, that the Monies of his Father (notwithstanding the people held them base) should bee current; and a Fifteenth of the Cleargie, a Twentith of the Temporalty is there granted. After the Funeralls performed at *Westminster*, hee passes ouer to *Bologne*, where his Nuptialls with *Isabel*, Daughter to *Philip le Bel*, are sumptuously solemnized. at which were present the King of *France*, the King of *Nauare*, his Sonne, the King of *Almaine*, the King of *Sicile*, and three Queenes besides the Bride, with an extraordinary concourse of other Princes. At which Feast *Gauestón* is sayde to haue exceeded them all in brauerie, & daintinesse of attire, wherewith afterward he infected the Court of *England*. A mischiefe the most contagious to breed a Consumption in a State, that can be introduced. For, the imitation thereof presently distends it selfe ouer all, and passes beyond the example, and at length all meanes to maintaine it.

The marriage of K. *Ed.* solemnized at *Bologne*.

And

And had hee done no other hurt to the Kingdome then this, it had been enough to haue made him (as hee was) odious therunto. But besides, hee afterward filled the Court with *Buffons*, *Parasites*, *Minstrels*, *Players*, and all kinde of dissolute persons to entertaine, and dissolue the King with delights and pleasures. Whereby he so possest him, as hee regarded no other company, no other exercise, but continually day, and night spent his time, and treasure in all Wantonnesse, Ryot, and disorder: neglecting the affaires of the State: and the company, and counsell of all the rest of the Nobles: who assembling together (at the instant, when he was to be Crowned with his Queen at *Westminster*, *Anno Reg.* 2.) *require him that* Gauestón *might bee remoued from out the Court, and Kingdome; otherwise they purposed to hinder his Coronation at that time.* Whereupon the King to auoide so great a disgrace, *promises on his faith, to yeeld to what they desired in the next Parlement*; and so the Solemnitie with much festination, and little reuerence is performed. Wherein, *Gauestón* for carrying Saint *Edwards* Crowne before the King, aggrauates the hatred of the Cleargie, and Nobility against him.

Gaveston corrupts the King.

The Lords displeased with Gauest.

Shortly after his Coronation, all the Knights Templars throughout *England* are at once arrested, and committed to prison. They were an order of Knights instituted by *Balduin* the Fourth King of *Ierusalem* about 200 yearts past, & first appointed for the defence of that Citie, and the safe conuaying of all such as trauailed thither: afterwards they were dispersed through all the Kingdoms of *Christendom* & by the pious bounty of Princes, & others, inriched with infinite possessions, which made them to degenerate frō their first institution, & become execrably vitious. So that all the Kings of *Christendom* at one instant (combining together) caused them to be apprehended within their Dominions, and put out of their order, and estates. The King of *France* began, hauing a purpose to make one of his Sonns King of *Ierusalem*, & possesse him of their reuenues. Their accusation followes their apprehension, and condemned they are (rather by fame, then proofe) in the generall Councell at *Vienna*; as apeares by the condemnatory *Bull* of *Pope Clement* the Third: Wherein he hath this clause, *Quanquam de iure non possumus, tamen ad plenitudinem potestatis, dictum ordinem reprobamus.* Their estates are after giuen to the *Hospitaliers*.

The Knights Templers arrested & committed to prison.

Their dissolution.

These businesses passed ouer, the Lords prosecute their purpose against *Gauestón*, whose insolencie, and presumption vpon the Kings fauour; made him so farre to forget himselfe, as hee scorned the best of them all, as much as they hated him. Tearming *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster* the *Stage player*: *Aymer de Valence* Earle of *Pembrooke*, *Ioseph the Iew*: and *Guy* Earle of *Warwicke*, the *blacke dogge of Ardern*: Which scoffes, leauing behinde them the sting of reuenge (especially where they touche) drew such a partie vpon him, as in the next Parlement, the whole Assemblie *humbly besought the King to aduise, and treat with his Nobles, concerning the State of the Kingdome, for the auoiding of eminent mischiefe, likely to insue through neglect of the Gouernment*; and so farre vrges the matter, as the King consents thereunto, and not onely grants them libertie to draw into Articles what was requisite for the Kingdome, but takes his oath to ratifie whatsoeuer they should conclude. Whereuppon they elect certaine choyce men both of the Cleargie, Nobility, and Commons, to compose those Articles. Which done, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, lately recalled from exile, with the rest of his Suffragans, solemnly pronounce the sentence of excommunication against al such who should contradict those Articles, which are there publiquely read before the Barons and Commons of the Realme, in the presence of the King. Amongst which *the obseruation and execution of* Magna Charta *is required, with all other ordinances necessary for the Church and Kingdome. And that as the late King had done, all Strangers should bee banished the Court, and Kingdome, & all ill Councellors remoued. That the businesse of the State should be treated on by the Councell of the Cleargie and the Nobles. That the King should not begin any war, or goe any where out of the Kingdom, without the common Councell of the same.*

The Lords prosecute Gauestón.

Reg. 3. Anno. 1310.

A Parlement. The king takes his oath to ratefie whatsoeuer Articles the Lords would conclude in Parlement.

Which Articles though they seemed harsh to the King yet to auoide further trouble hee yeelds vnto them, but especially to the banishment of his Minion, as if that would excuse him for all the rest; and away is hee sent into *Ireland*, where hee liued a while, not as a man exiled, but as the Lieutenant of the Countrie. The King not enduring

Gauestón banished into Ireland.

enduring to be without his company, neuer ceased working till hee had recalled him backe againe: which within a few moneths after hee did. And to make him (as hee thought) to stand the faster on his feete, hee marries him to his Neece (the Daughter of *Ioan de Acres*) Sister to *Gilbert de Clare* Earle of *Glocester*, a man beloued and highly esteemed of all the Nobility: for whose sake hee hoped *Gauestón* should finde the more fauour amongst them, but all this could not shelter him. Either his behauiour, or their malice was such as they could not endure to haue him about the King, who by making him so great, lessened him, and the more hee was enriched, the worse was his estate; The Subiects spectators of their Kings immoderate gifts, held it to bee taken out of the bowels of the Common-wealth, & as it were of their substance that was so wasted. For it is reported, the King gaue him the Iewels of the Crowne, which hee sould to Marchant strangers, and conuayed much treasure out of the Kingdome, whereby the King sustained great wants, and the Queene is abridged of her allowance, whereof she complaines to the King of *France* her Father.

Gauestón recalled.

These stingues put the Barons on to send plaine word to the King, *that vnlesse hee put from him* Pierce Gauestón, *and obserue the late Articles, they would all with one consent rise in armes against him, as a periured Prince.* The King (whom they found was apt to be terrified) yeelds againe vpon this message to the banishment of his Minion: whose fortune beeing to haue a weake maister, was driuen to these sodaine extreamities, and disgracefull expulsions, at their will who were his enuiers; and who now obtaine this Clause; *that if hereafter hee were found againe within the Kingdome he should be condemned to death as an enemy of the State.* *Ireland* was now no more to protect him: *France* most vnsafe for him (wait being their laid to apprehend him) in *Flanders* he lurks a while, but in great danger: and finding no where any securitie, back againe hee aduentures vpon *England*, and into the Kings bosome (the sanctuary he thought would not be violated) hee puts himselfe, and there is hee receiued with as great ioy as euer man could bee. And to be as farre out of the way and eye of enuy as might be, the King carries him into the North parts, where notwithstanding the Lords shortly after found him out. For no sooner had they heard of his returne, and receiuing into grace, but they presently combine and take armes, electing *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster* for their Leader. This *Thomas* was the Sonne of *Edmond*, the second Sonne of *Henry* the third: and was likewise Earle of *Leicester*, *Ferrers*, and *Lincolne*, a most powerfull and popular Subiect, with whom ioynes *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, *Aymer de Valence*, Earle of *Pembrooke*, *Guy de Beaucham* Earle of *Warwicke*, the Earle of *Arundel*, With many other Barons. But *Gilbert* Earle of *Glocester* the Kings Nephew, for that hee would neither offend him, nor be wanting to his Peeres, stands as Mediator for their liberties, and the peace of the Kingdome. The Earle *Warrein* remained a while doubtfull, and fauouring rather the Kings part, till the Archbishop of *Canterbury* induced him to consent with the Lords: who being thus prepared send to the King in the behalfe of the whole Comunaltie, *beseeching him to deliuer vpp vnto them* Pierce Gauestón, *or else to send him away with his traine out of England.* The King neglecting their petition they set forward in armes towards the North. The King and *Gauestón*, withdrawe to *Newcastle*, & there beeing aduertised of the strength of the Lords, they take ship (leauing the Queene in much griefe behinde) and land at *Scarborough* Castle; whereinto the King puts *Gauestón* with the best forces hee could prouide for his defence, and departs himselfe towards *Warwickeshire*.

The Lords threaten the King.

Gauestón again banished.

Gauestón returnes.

The Lords take armes.

Gauestón taken and beheaded.

The Earles of *Pembrooke* and *Warrein* sent by the Earle of *Lancaster* lay siege to the Castle. *Gauestón* is forced to render himselfe into their hands, but intreates thus much that hee might be brought once more to speake with the King, and then after they should doe with him what they pleased. The Earle of *Pembrooke* vndertakes vpon his honour he should, but as his seruants were conducting him towards the King, the Earle of *Warwicke* tooke him from them by force, and commits him to his Castle of *Warwicke*, where after some consultation among the Lords (notwithstanding the Kings earnest solicitation for his life, they condemned him to the blocke, and tooke off his head.

This

This was the end of *Pierce Gauestón*, who for that hee was the first *Priuado* of this kinde euer nored in our History, and was aboue a King in his life, deserues to haue his *Character* among Princes being dead. Natiue hee was of *Gascoine*, and for the great seruice his father had done to this Crowne, intertained and bred vp by King *Edward* the first, in company with his sonne this Prince, which was the meanes that inuested him into that high fauour of his. Hee was of a goodly personage, of an haughty and vndauntable spirit, braue and hardy at armes, as hee shewed himselfe in that Turneament which hee held at *Wallingford*, wherein hee chalenged the best of the Nobility, and is saide to haue foiled them all; which inflamed the more their malice towards him. In *Ireland* where hee was Liuetennant during the short time of his banishment, hee made a Iourney into the mountaines of *Dublin*, brak and subdued the Rebels there, built *Newcastle* in the *Kerns* country, repaired Castle *Keuin*, and after passed vp into *Munster* and *Thomond*, performing euery where great seruice with much valour and worthinesse. Hee seemes to haue been a Courtier which could not fawne nor stoope to those hee loued not, or put on any disguise vpon his Nature to temporize with his enemies; But presuming vpon his fortune (the misfortune of such men) grew in the end to that arrogancie as was intolerable, which the priuacie of a Kings fauour vsually begets in their Minions, whose vnderstanding and iudgement being dazed therewith, as is their sight who stand and looke downe from off high places neuer discerne the ground from whence they ascended. And this extraordinary fauour shewed to one though hee were the best of men, when it arises to an excesse, is like the predomination of one humour alone in the body; which indangers the health of the whole, and especially if it light vpon vnworthinesse, or where is no desert, and commonly Princes raise men rather for appetite then merit, for that in the one they shew the freedome of their power, in the other they may seeme but to pay their debt.

The description of *Peirce Gauestón*.

The miserable estate of Minions.

But this violent part of the Lords shewed the nature of a rough time, and was the beginning of the Second Ciuill Warre of *England*. For now hauing had their desire in this, and finding theire owne power and the weakenesse of the King, they peremtorily require the confirmation and execution of all those Articles formerly granted; threatning the King that vnlesse hee presently performed the same, they would constraine him thereunto by strong hand. Thus will Liberty neuer cease till it growe licentious, and such is the misery of a State, where a King hath once lost his reputation with his people, and where his Nature agrees not with his Office, or answers the duties thereunto belonging. And with this menacing message they had their swords likewise ready drawne, and with strong forces assemble about *Dunstable* making towards *London* where the King then lay.

The peremtorie proceeding of the Lords.

The great Prelates of the Kingdome, with the Earle of *Glocester* labour to appease them, and (with two Cardinalls, which at that time were sent by the *Pope* to reform these disorders of the Kingdome) they repaire to Saint *Albons* and desire conference with the Lords, who receiue them very peaceably, but their letters which the *Pope* had written vnto them, they refused to receiue, *saying they were men of the sword, and cared not for the reading of letters: that there were many worthie and learned men in the Kingdome whose Counsells they would vse, and not strangers, who knew not the cause of their commotion: absolutely concluding, that they would not permit Forrainers and Aliens to intermeddle in their actions, or in any businesse that concerned the Kingdome.* With which answere the Cardinalls returne to *London*. But the Prelates of *England* so labour the businesse as the Lords were content to yeeld vp to the King such Horses, Treasure, and Iewels as they had taken of *Pierce Gauestón* at *Newcastle*, so that the King would grant their petitions, And thereupon *Iohn Sandall* Treasurer of the Kingdome, and *Ingelard Warle* Keeper of the Wardrobe, are sent to Saint *Albons* to receiue those things at their hands.

The Prelates and the E. of Glocester labour to pacifie and bring in the Lords.

Their submission.

Reg. 5. Anno. 1313.

About this time Queen *Isabel* is deliuered of a sonne at *Winsor* whom *Louys* her brother, and other great men and Ladies of *France*, would haue had christened by the name of her father *Philip*, but the Nobility of *England* had him named *Edward*. And here

Queen *Isabel* deliuered of a sonne.

here the King keeps his Christmas, feasts the *French* with great Magnificence, and is said (or rather suspected) to bee euill counselled by them against his Nobles, betweene whome there being so ill correspondence already, any imagination serues to make it worse, *Suspition* causing all things to be taken in ill part.

A Parlement.

Shortly after, a Parlement is called at *London*, wherein the King complaines *of the great contempt was had of him by the Barons, their rising in Armes, their taking and murthering* Pierce Gaueston *&c.* Whereunto with one accord they answer: *how they had not offended therein, but rather mereted his loue and fauour, hauing taken armes not for any contempt of his Royall person, but to destroy the publique enemy of the Kingdome, banished before by the consent of two Kings: a man by whom his fame and honour was most highly disparaged, his substance, and that of the Kingdome wasted, and a most dangerous dissention betweene him and his subiects raised. Whereof otherwise with all their labour and trauaile they could neuer haue had an end.* Besides they tell him plainely, *they would now no longer attend vaine promises nor be deluded with delaies, as they had hitherto been concerning their required Articles.* Which stout resolution of theirs, the Queene with the Prelates, and the Earle of *Glocester* seeing, they seeke by all perswasions to quallifie their heate, and at length so farre preuailed with them; as to appease the Kings wrath they brought them and their confederates in open Parlement, to humble themselues to the King, and to craue pardon for what they had done, which they obtained, and the King receiues them into grace, as his loyall subiects, grants them their Articles, and particular pardons by his Charter, for their indemnity concerning the death of *Gauestone*. And for this, the State vpon his great wants granted him a Fifteenth. *Guy de Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwicke* is here appointed to bee one of the Kings Councell, who beeing a man much enuied by such as possest the King, shortly after dies, not without suspition of poyson.

The Lords are pardoned.
A Fifteenth granted.

Reg.6.
Anno.
1314.

Whilst the State of *England* stood thus diseased at home, through the infirmity of a weake Head, that of *Scotland* grew strong by the prouidence of a vigilant King, who had not only ouercome the *Scottish* faction, and recouered the most of his owne Countrey, but also made spoiles on this, wasting all *Northumberland* in such sort, as King *Edward* wakened with the out-cries of his people and the great dishonor of the kingdome, is drawne to take armes for redresse thereof, and enters *Scotland* with the greatest Armie that euer yet went thither, consisting as the *Scottish* writers report of 100 Thousand men, whereof were great numbers of *Flemings*, *Gascoines*, *Welsh*, and *Irish*, who in imagination had deuoured the Countrey before they came thither, and thought not of Battailes, but of deuiding the prey. Besides the King had with him most of the Nobility, and especiall men of *England*, except *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*, the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Warrein* and *Arundell*, who refused to goe, for that the King protracted the execution of the foresaid Articles.

K. *Bruce* grows strong in *Scotland*.
K. *Ed.* goes with a mighty Army into *Scotland*.

The Castle of *Sterling* is the peece that is to bee relieued, which chiefly now held out, defended by *Philip Moubray* a valiant Knight, who seeing the daily successe of *Bruce*, had manned and victualed the same for many moneths. Neare to this place vpon the Riuet *Bannocke* is incountred this great Armie of *England* by *Bruce*, with 30 Thousand *Scots*, a small number say their writers, in respect of their enemies: but as men hardened with daily vse of warre and domesticall euills, fierce and resolute, carrying all their hopes in their hands, of life, estate, and whatsoeuer was deare vnto them. The aduantage of the ground was theirs, hauing behinde vnaccessable Rocks to defend them, before a Moorish vncertaine ground wherein they digged trenches, which they pitched full of sharpe stakes, and couered them ouer with hurdles, so that the footmen might passe ouer safely without impediment, but it so confounded the Horse, as it gaue the *Scots* the day, and the greatest ouerthrow to *England* that euer it receiued. There perished in this Battaile (called of *Bannocks Bourough*) *Gilbert* the last *Clare* Earle of *Glocester*, a maine Arch of the State of *England*, and *Robert* Lord *Clifford* the Noblest of our Barons, with the Lord *Tiptoft*, the Lord *Mareschall*, the Lord *Giles de Argenton*, the Lord *Edmond de Maule*, & 700 Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen of sort: of common souldiers, theirs say Fifty thousand, ours Ten: taken prisoners

The battail of *Bannocks borough*.

The defeit of the *English*.

soners *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, *Ralph de Morthelmere* (who married *Ioan de Acres*, Countesse dowager of *Glocester*) with many others: the King and those who were preserued escaped by flight.

This defeit put *Scotland* both into *Armes* and *Wealth*, so that they held their owne the better for a long time after, and discouraged so much this kingdome for many yeares as it wrought not (though it often attempted) any great reuenge. King *Edward* vpon his comming backe to *Yorke* shewed a great desire to repaire this dishonour, but nothing was done; his people grew colde, home they returne, and sitte downe by their losse. The poore Borderers haue the worst of it, and become so dejected as 100 of them would flie from three *Scots* saith *Walsingham*. To such a sodain faintnesse are the inferiours brought, when the nobler parts of a State, which should giue them spirit, are ill affected.

This disaster (as mischiefe neuer comes alone) was attended with inundations, which brought forth Dearth, Dearth Famine, Famine Pestilence, all which exceeded any that euer before had been knowne. A Parlement is called at *London* vpon the beginning of this Dearth to abate the prices of victualls, which sodainely grew to be excessiue. And therefore it was ordained, that an Oxe fatted with grasse should be sould for sixteene shillings, fatted with corne for twentie shillings, the best Cow for twelue shillings, a fat Hogge of two yeares old three shillings foure pence, a fatte Sheepe shorne fourteene pence, with the fleece twenty pence, a fatte Goose for two pence halfe penny, a fatte Capon two pence, a fat Hen a penny, foure Pigeons a penny, whosoeuer sould aboue should forfeit their ware to the King. Heere seemes then to haue been no Calues, Lambes, Goslings, Chickins, young Pigges, to be sould, those dainties were not yet in vse.

A Parlement at *London*. *Reg.* 8. *An.* 1315.

Rates for victualls.

After these rates imposed, all kinde of victualls grew more scarce then before, and such a Murrein followed of all kinde of Cattell, with a generall failing of all fruits of the earth, by the excessiue raines and vnseasonable weather, as prouision could not be had for the Kings house, nor meanes for other great men to maintaine their Tables (such a iust punishment had Excesse and Ryot inflicted thereon in those daies) in so much as men put away their seruants in great numbers, who hauing beene daintily bred, and now not able to worke, scorning to begge, fell to Robbetie and spoyle, which addes more miserie to the kingdom. Three yeares this affliction held, & was attended with so great a Pestilence and generall sicknesse of the common sorr, caused by the ill nutriment they receiued, as the liuing scarce sufficed to burie the dead.

A Dearth which lasted 3. yeares. *Reg.* 10. *An.* 1317.

Notwithstanding could all this extinguish the rancour betweene the King and his Nobles, but daily one mischiefe or other brake out, to holde in and increase the same. The wife of *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster* is taken out of his house at *Canford* in *Dorcetshire*, by one *Richard* Saint-*Martin*, a deformed Dwarffe (as hee is described) a follower of the Earle *Warrein*: claiming her for his wife, and auowing how hee had layne with her before she was married to the Earle, which the Lady her selfe to her perpetuall ignomy, and the shame of honour, voluntarily auerred. This base creature claymes by her the Earledomes of *Lincolne*, and *Salisbury*, whereunto shee was heire; Which with out being supported by great Abbettors, hee would neuer haue presumed to attempt. The King is noted an Actor herein, which beeing in so tender & reserued a businesse as mariage, added much to his other violations of order: & gaue occasion and hardinesse to inferiour persons to reproue his courses as may bee noted by this passage. Being at the celebration of the feast of Pentecost at dinner in the open Hall at *Westminster*, a woman fantastically disguised enters on Horse-bake, and ryding about the Table deliuers him a letter, wherein was signified the great neglect hee had of such as had done him, and his father noble seruices, taxing him for aduancing men of vnworthie parts, &c. which letter read, and the woman departed, put the King into a great rage. They who guarded the doore being sharply reprehended for suffering her to enter in that manner, excused themselues, alleadging, it not to be the fashion of the Kings house in times of festiualls to keepe out any which came in that manner, as they thought to make sport. Search beeing made for this woman, shee is found

The wife of the E. of *Lancaster* taken out of his house at *Canford*.

The King aduertised of his errors.

found and examined who set her on. She confessed a Knight gaue her mony to doe as shee did. The Knight is found, and vpon examination boldly confessed, hee did it for the Kings honour and to none other end, and escapes without further adoe.

The miserable affliction of the Borderers.

Thus while the North parts were not only infested with the *Scots*, but likewise by such of the *English* as vndet colout of vsing ayde for resistance, robbed and spoiled all where they came, to the miserable vndoing of the people. Besides *Robert Bruce* now absolute King of *Scots*, sends his brother *Edward* with a mighty power into *Ireland*, whereof hee got a great part, and the title of a King, which hee held three yeares. Thus all things went ill, as euermore it doth in dissolute and dissentious times wherein the publicke is alway neglected.

A reconciliation between the King & the Nobles.

A new occasion of trouble.

But these mischiefes abroad was the occasion that a reconciliation betweene the King and the Earle of *Lancaster* is made by the mediation of two Cardinalls vppon such conditions as were soone after vniustly broken by the King. A Knight is taken passing by *Pomfret* with letters sealed with the Kings Seale, directed to the King of *Scots* about murthering the Earle, which Messenger is executed, his head set vpon the top of the Castle, and the letters reserued to witnesse the intended plot. Which whether it were fained or not, the report thereof cast an aspersion vpon the King, and wonne many to take part with the Earle. After this, vpon an inuasion of the *Scots* forraging as farre as *Yorke*, a Parlement is assembled at *London*, wherein againe the King by the working of the Cardinalls, and Cleargie of *England* yeelds, faithfully to obserue all the former required Articles. Whereupon an ayd is granted him of Armed men to go against the *Scots*. *London* settes foorth 200. *Canterbury* 40. Saint-*Albons* 10. and so of all Cities and Boroughs according to their proportion, whereby a great Army was leauied. Which comming to *Yorke*; through mutenie, emulation, and other impediments was dissolued, and turned backe without effecting any thing.

Reg. 11. *Anno.* 1318.

A Parlement at *London*.

The next yeare after vpon the rendering vp of *Berwicke* to the *Scots* by the treason of *Peter Spalding* who had the custodie thereof; the King of *England* raises an Armie & beleagers it: the *Scots* to diuert his forces, enter vpon *England* by other waies, and were like to haue surprised the person of the Queene lying neare *Yorke*. The siege notwithstanding is eagerly continued, and the King in great possibility to haue regained the Towne, had not the Earle of *Lancaster* with his followers withdrawne him-selfe vpon discontent, hearing the King say, how hee would giue the keeping thereof to the Lord *Hugh Spencer* the younger, who was now growne an especiall Minion (the successor both of the Office, and priuate fauour of *Gaueston*) and therefore not to be indured by the Earle.

Reg. 12. *Anno.* 1319.

The L. *Hugh Spencer* the yonger succeded *Gaueston* in the office of L. Chamberlaine.

Those of *Yorke* and the Countrie adiacent hauing receiued inestimable damages by the *Scots*, collect an Armie of 10000 men, & incounter them at *Milton* on *Swayle*; but beeing not well ledde, nor experienced they receiued the defeite, with the losse of 3000 men. Whereof the King being certified and seeing all things to succeed ill with him, concludes a truce with the *Scots* for two yeares, and againe rerurnes with dishonour from those parts. In the time of this peace, a great flame arises from a small sparke, and tooke beginning vpon this occasion. A Baron named *William Brewes*, hauing in his licentious age, wasted his estate, offers to sell vnto diuerse men a part of his inheritance called *Powes*. *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, in regarde the land lay neare his, obtaines leaue of the King to buy it, and bargaines for the same. The two *Rogers Mortimers*, Vncle and Nephew, great men likewise in those parts, not vnderstanding it seemes any thing of the former bargaine, Contract also for the same land, with the said Sir *William Brewes*. *Hugh Spencer* the younger hearing of this sale, and the land adioyning to part of his, obtaines a more especiall leaue of the King, being now his Chamberlaine, and buies it out of all their hands.

Reg. 14. *Anno.* 1321.

Another occasion of reuolt.

The Earle of *Hereford* complaines himselfe to the Earle of *Lancaster* (the refuge of all discontented men) who at *Sherborn* enters into a Confederation with diuers Barons there assembled, taking their oathes intermutually to liue and die together, in maintaining the right of the kingdome, and to procure the banishment of the two

two *Spencers* farher, and sonne, whom they now held to be the great seducers of the King and oppressors of the State, disposing of all things in Court at their will, and suffering nothing to be obtained but by their meanes: Which the State accounted a mischiefe most intollerable and grievous vnto them, seeing all graces and dispatches were to passe out but at one dore, whereby the Kings benignity and power is diminished, the Kingdome dishonoured, all corruptions introduced to the overthrow of Iustice and good order.

The Lords oppose the *Spencers*.

And vnder this pretence they take Armes, wherein themselues proceed not in that even way of right as they made shew, but follow the fury of their wils, being once out and astray, they seize vpon, and make spoile of the lands and goods of those persons they prosecuted, and all such as had friendship and affinity with them, killing their servants and disposing their Castles at their pleasure. And comming armed thus to S. *Albons* they send to the King, residing then at *London*, the Bishops of *London*, *Salisbury*, *Hereford* and *Chichester* (who were there assembled to consult for peace) *requiring him as he tendred the quiet of the Realme to rid his Court of those Traitors the* Spencers, *condemned in many Articles of high Treason, by the Communalty of the Land; and withall to grant his Letters Patents of Pardon and Indemnity both to them, and all such as took part with them, and that for no offences past or present they should hereafter be punished.* The King returnes answer, *That* Hugh Spencer *the father was beyond the Seas imployed in his businesse, and the sonne was guarding the Cinq;-Portes according to his office, and that it was against Law and Custome they should bee banished without being heard. Moreover that their request was voide of Iustice and Reason, for that the said* Spencers *were ever ready to answer to all complaints made against them, according to the forme of Law, and if the LL. could prove they had offended the Statutes of the Realme, they were willing to submit themselues to the triall thereof. And besides swore he would never violate the oath made at his Coronation, by granting letters of Pardon to such notorious offenders who contemned his person, disturbed the Kingdom, and violated the Royall Maiestie.* Which answer so exasperated the Lords as presently they approach to *London*, and lodged in the Suburbes till they obtained leaue of the King to enter into the Citie: Where they peremptorily vrge their demands; which at length by mediation of the Queene and the chiefe Prelates, the King is wrought to condiscend vnto, and by his Edict published in Westminster Hall, by the Earle of *Hereford*, are the *Spencers* banished the Kingdom. *Hugh* the father keeps beyond the Seas, but the sonne secretly hides himselfe in *England* expecting the turne of a better season. The Lords (having thus obtained their desire with the Kings Letters of impunity) depart home, but yet not with such security, as they gaue over the provision for their own defence.

And take Armes.

The King excuses the *Spencers*.

Denies the Lords their demands.

The Lords come armed to *London*.

The King yeelds unto them.

The Earle of *Hereford* publishes the Kings Edict in Westminster Hall.

Shortly after, there fell out an vnexpected accident that suddainely wrought their confusion. The Queene who had ever beene the nurse of peace, and laboured to accord the King and his Barons, making her progresse towards *Canterbury* was disposed to lodge in the Castle of *Leeds*, appertaining to the Lord *Badlesmere* (who had beene long the Kings Steward, but lately tooke part with the Barons) and sending her Mareschall to make ready for her and her traine, they who kept the Castle told him plainely, that neither the Queene or any else should enter there, without letters from their Lord. The Queen her selfe goes to the Castle, and receiues the like answer, whereupon she is driven to take such lodging other where as could be provided. Of which indignity she complaines to the King, who tooke it so to heart, as presently with a power of armed men out of *London*, he layes siege to the Castle, takes it, hangs the keeper, *Thomas Culpeper*, sends the wife and children of the Lord *Badlesmere* to the Tower, and seises vpon all his goods and treasure. And having this power about him, and warmed with successe and the instigation of the Queene, sodainely directs his course to *Cicister* where he kept his Christmas, and there provides for an army against the Barons, whereof many (seeing the Kings power increasing) left their associates and yeeld themselues to his mercy, amongst whom were the two *Rogers Mortimers*, men of great might and meanes, the Lord *Hugh Audeley*, the Lord *Maurice Barkley*, and others, who notwithstanding, contrary to their expectation, were sent to divers

The occasion of the Queens displeasure with the Lords

Shee is denied lodging in the Castle of *Leeds*.

The King takes the Castle of *Leeds*. Growes strong.

The Lords withdraw into the North parts, and are ouerthrowne.

divers priſons. The Earles of *Lancaſter* and *Hereford* ſeeing this ſodaine change withdrew themſelues and their companies from abour *Gloceſter* towards the North-parts. The King followes them with his Army wherein were the Earles of *Athol* and *Angus*, and at *Burton* vpon *Trent*, where they had made head, diſcomfited their forces and put them all to flight. Whereupon ſeeking to eſcape they retire further North, and at *Burrough Briggs* are encountred by Sir *Simon Ward* Shriefe of Yorke, and Sir *Andrew Harckley* Conſtable of *Carleil*, who (after the Earle of *Hereford* was ſlaine in ſtriuing to paſſe the Bridge) tooke the Earle of *Lancaſter*, with diuerſe other Lords and brought them to *Pomfret*, where the third day after, the King ſitting himſelfe in iudgement with *Edmond* Earle of *Kent* his brother, the Earle of *Pembrooke*, the Earle *Warren*, *Hugh Spencer*, lately created Earle of *Wincheſter* and others, Sentence of death is giuen againſt *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter*, by drawing, hanging, and beheading as a trayrour. The two firſt puniſhments are pardoned in regard he was of the royall blood, and only beheaded hee was the ſame day without the towne of *Pomfret* before his owne Caſtle. And by the like iudgement were condemned the Lord *Roger Clifford*, the Lord *Warrein Liſle*, the Lord *William Tuchet*, *Thomas Mandit*, *Henry Bradburne*, *William Fiztwilliams*, *William* Lord *Cheyny*, *Thomas* Lord *Mowbray*, *Ioſeline* Lord *Danyll*, all which were executed at *Yorke*. Shortly after the Lord *Henry Teyes* is taken, drawne, hangd and quartered at *London*, the Lord *Aldenham* at *Windſor*, the Lords *Badleſmere*, and *Aſhburnham* at *Canterbury*, the Lord *Gifford* at *Gloceſter*; principall men in principall places, to ſpread the more terrour ouer the kingdome. All their eſtates and inheritances are confiſcated, and many new men aduanced by the ſame. And this is the firſt blood of Nobility that euer was ſhed in this manner in *England* ſince *William* the firſt, which beeing ſuch, and ſo much as it was, opened veines for more to follow, and procured a moſt hidious reuenge, which ſhortly after inſued. Thus is the beame of power turned, and Regality (now in the heuier ſcale) weighes downe all.

The executiõ of the E. of *Lancaſter*, with diuers other Losds in diuerſe places.

The firſt of any Earle or Baron of *England* that euer was executed upon Scaffold, or otherwiſe, ſince the time of *William the* firſt.

And preſently vpon this Maiſter-worke, the King both to buſie the mindes of his people, and to keepe their hands doing whilſt the terrour thereof laſted, marches from *Yorke* with a mighty hoaſt (but ſmall prouiſions) into *Scotland*. Where, the *Scots* conuaying themſelues and all ſuccours out of his way, put that want vppon him, as confounded his great Armie without blowes, forcing him to returne with much diſhonour. And hauing paſſed farre within his owne Countrie, they aſſayled him at vnawares, and had like to haue taken his perſon, as well as they did his treaſure with the Earle of *Richmond* (with whom hauing miſerably ranſackt all the Countrie ouer, euen to the walles of *Yorke*, they returne loaden with mighty ſpoyles ſafe into *Scotland*; & this was the ſucceſſe of this vnfortunate King (not borne for triumphes) in his third *Scottiſh* expedition.

The Kings ill ſucceſſe in *Scotland*.

Reg. 16. *Anno.* 1323.

And now being at leaſure, in a calmer humour it ſeemes, hee began to haue a ſenſe of the Execution of the Earle of *Lancaſter*, which hee diſcouers vpon this occaſion. Some about him making earneſt ſute to grant a pardon to one of the Earles followers (a man of meane eſtate) and preſſing him hard thereunto, hee falles into a great paſſion, exclayming againſt them as vniuſt and wicked Councellors, which would vrge him ſo to ſaue the life of a moſt notorious varlet, and would not ſpeak one word for his neare kinſman the Earle of *Lancaſter*: who ſaide hee, had hee liued might haue been vſefull to mee and the whole kingdome; but this fellowe the longer hee liues the more miſchiefe hee will commit, and therefore by the ſoule of God, hee ſhall die the death hee hath deſerued. Sir *Andrew Harckley* who was the man which tooke priſoner the Earle of *Lancaſter* at *Burrough Brigges*, being aduanced for his ſeruice to the Earledome of *Carliel*, inioyed his honour but a while: for the next yeare after, either thruſt out into diſcontent, by the *Spencers* enuying his high preferment, or combyning with the *Scots*, allured with the hope of a great Match (as he was accuſed) is degraded of all his honours, drawne, hangd and quartered at *London* for treaſon, and remaines amongſt the examples of ſodaine downefall, from high places, vnder an inconſtant and ill gouerning Prince.

The E. of *Carleil* degraded & executed.

occaſion

Occasion drew on a Parlement to consult, amongst other important businesses concerning the Sommons lately sent to King *Edward*, from the new King of *France Charles de Bel* (who succeded his brother *Phillip de Long*) to come and doe his homage For *Gascoine*, and it was by the common consent of all decreed that the King shoould not goe in person at that time but send some especiall men to excuse or deferre his appearance.

Reg. 17. *An.* 1324.

A Parlement.

Besides in this Parlement, the King required a Subsedie both of the Cleargie and Laitie, for the redemption of *Iohn Brittaine* Earle of *Richmond*, lately taken prisoner by the *Scots*. *But it was denied and alleadged that no contribution ought of right to be made but for the redemption of the King, the Queene or Prince*, and so nothing was there gotten but more displeasure. The Bishop of *Hereford* was arrested, and accused of high treason before the King and his Councell for ayding the Kings enemies in their late rebellion, but hee refused to answere (being a consecrated Bishop) without leaue of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whose *Suffragan* hee was (and who hee saide was his direct Iudge next the *Pope*) or without the consent of the rest of his fellow Bishops, who then all arose and humbly craued the Kings clemencie in his behalfe; but finding him implacable they tooke away their fellowe Bishop from the Barre, and deliuered him to the custodie of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, till some other time the King should appoint for his answere to what hee was charged withall. Shortly after hee was againe taken and conuented as before, which the Cleargie vnderstanding, the Archbishops, *Canterbury*, *Yorke*, and *Dublin*, with ten other Bishops, all which with their Crosses erected went to the place of iudgement, and againe tooke him away with them; charging all men vpon paine of excommunication to forbeare to lay violent hands on him, with which audacious act the King was much displeased, and presently commanded inquirie to bee made *ex officio Iudicis*, concerning those obiections against the Bishop, wherein he was found guilty, though absent, and had all his goods and possessions seised into the Kings hands.

The King is denied a Subsidie.

The Bishop of Hereford accused of treason.

He refused to answere.

The B. taken from the Bar.

The B. being absent is condemned *ex officio*.

This act lost him the Clergie, and added power to the discontented partie, which was now growne to bee all in generall, except the *Spencers* and their followers, who inriched with the spoyles of the Barons, gouerned all at their pleasure, selling the Kings fauours, and shutting him vp from any others, but where they pleased to shew him: and in this violence which knowes no bounds, they presume to abridge the Queene of her maintenance, and lessened her houshold traine, which was the rocke whereon they perished.

The presumption of the *Spencers*.

The proceeding of the King of *France* against the King of *England* for the omission of his *homage*, was growne so farre, as that all his territories there were adiudged to bee forfeited, and many places of importance seised on by the *French*; whereuppon *Edmond* Earle of *Kent* the Kings brother is sent into *Gasconie* but to little effect, the King of *France* was before hand, his power ready and his people in those parts yeelding that way where they saw most force. So that, either the King of *England* must goe in person to appease this trouble, or send his Queene to her brother to mediate an accord, otherwise all was there in danger to be lost. For the Kings going in person, the *Spencers* held it vnsafe both for him, and them, if hee should leaue his kingdome at home in so great, and generall discontent as then it was. Wherefore the Queene with a small traine is sent ouer to accomodate the businesse, which shee negotiates so well, as all quarrells should bee ended vppon condition the of King *England* would giue to his sonne *Edward* the Duchy of *Aquitaine* with the Earledom of *Ponthieu*, and send him ouer to doe *homage* for the same, which after many consultations the King is wrought to yeeld vnto.

The Earle of *Kent* sent into *Gascoine*.

The Queen is sent to accomodate the businesse of *France*.

The Prince is sent with the Bishop of *Exeter* and others, to the Court of the King of *France*, where hee was most welcome to his mother, who herein had her desier, and being wholly bent to reuenge (whereof none are saide to bee more eager then women) found there, besides her great partie in *England*, those who nourished that humour in her amongst whom was chiefe *Roger Mortimer* Lord of *Wigmor*, lately escaped out of the towre of *London*, a gallant young Gentleman whom shee especially fauoured.

The Prince is sent to doe his Homage for the Duchy of *Aquitaine*.

The Bishop of *Exceter* discovers the Queens plots.

The Queene proclaimed enemy to the Kingdome.

The Queene returnes with forces.

Reg. 19. *Anno.* 1326.

The King demands aide of the Citie of *London*.

The King departs towards the West. The Queene follows.

2. King. 24.

The Queenes Proclamation.

fauoured. The Bishop of *Exceter* perceiuing some plots to be in hand, and their close consultations made without him, withdrawes secretly from thence, and discouers to the King so much as hee obserued of their courses. The King sends presently for the Queene and Prince, soliciting withall, the King of *France* to hasten their returne, which when hee saw was neglected and delayed, hee caused them openly to be proclaimed enemies to the kingdome, banishing them and all their adherents out of the Land: and withall causes all the Ports to bee strongly kept, and sends three Admirals to attend on seuerall coasts to oppose their landing.

The Queene to inflame her the more is informed of a plot laid to murther her, and the Prince: and either doubting how much the money of *England* might worke in those should be tempted therewith, or else finding little fotwardnesse in her brother to aide or countenance her course against her husband, withdrawes to the Earle of *Haynault* being then a Prince of great meanes, and likewise Earle of *Holland*, to whose daughter *Phillippa* she contracts her sonne the Prince, and gets aide and mony of him to transport her into *England*. Arriving at *Harwich* with the Prince, the Earle of *Kent* the Kings brother (whom she brought with her from the Court of *France*) the Earle of *Pembrooke*, the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, and *Iohn* brother to the Earle of *Heynault* with 2500 *Henowayes* and *Flemings*, she was received with great ioy and concourse of all the discontented Nobility and others: and especially by the Bishops of *Hereford* and *Lincolne*, who soone resorted unto her, as men who had lost, to recover their fortunes.

The King, vpon notice of this sodaine and safe arrivall of the Queene, demands aide of the Citie of *London*, which returnes answer, *That they would with all dutie honour the King, Queene, and Prince, but their gates they would shut against all forreiners and traytors to the Realme, and with all their power withstand them.* The King with his small Counsell about him reposing no assurance in this answer (after Proclamation made that none, vpon paine of death, should aide the Queene, and commandement given to destroy all her adherents, onely her own person, the Prince, and his brother the Earle of *Kent* excepted, and that whosoever brought the head of *Roger Mortimer* should haue 1000 pounds) he leaues the Citie, committing the keeping of the Tower to Sir *Iohn Weston* with the guard of his yonger sonne *Iohn* of *Eltham*, and his Neece the Countesse of *Glocester* (first wife to *Pierce Gauestone*, now of *Hugh Spencer* the younger: a Lady vnfortunate by the over great fortunes of both her husbands) and departs towards the West, hoping to finde aide in those partes as formerly he had done against the Barons, but he saw the world was altered, and no man there to regard him.

The Queene advertised of his course matched after him (growing daily greater as she matched) and comes to *Oxford*, where the Bishop of *Hereford* Preached before her and the whole assembly, and delivers the cause of her proceeding taking for his Text, *My Head aketh, my Head aketh*: and concludes most undeuinely, that an aking, and sick Head of a Kindome, was of necessity to be taken of, and not otherwise to be cuted. A most execrable doctrine, and repugnant to the Sacred Word, which in all corrupted times is evermore produced, to abuse mens *Credulity* and iustifie *Impiety* in whatsoever *Ambition* or *Malice* shall attempt: a sinne beyond all other that can bee committed vpon earth. And the more to countenance the Queenes proceeding, it was noised two Cardinals were seene in her Campe, sent by the Pope to excommunicate such as tooke Armes against her, and the cause of hers to be for the delivering the kingdome from the misleaders of the King, the *Spencers*, the Lord Chancellour, and their adherents, all others to be safe. And here proclamation is made, *that nothing should bee taken from any subiect without paying ready mony*, and a penalty imposed on whomsoever did the contrary, as for the value of three pence to loose a finger, sixe pence the hand, twelue pence the head, and that whosoever brought to the Queene the yonger *Spencers* head should haue 1000 pounds. Thus is a bad cause defended with shew of Iustice, and an vnnaturall presumption made to seeme right by power and authority: An impotent woman led with passion, and abused by wicked-counsell is brought to make head against her owne head, to conduct an innocent sonne against the

the father; to vndertake an action she knew not how to manage, and to put her selfe into their hands, who having other ends then hers, would work beyond, though under her authority, what pleased themselues. And though the event (as commonly it doth in such attempts) proue worse then the intention of the vndertaker; yet howsoever, the infamy of all what was acted lyes foule and open vpon her Memorie; and no Apologie extant any way to cover it, and therefore we must leaue the same as wee finde it. And better had it been for the honour of the state of *England* to haue beene without her great dowre, then to haue had her example, the worst of a Queene it ever yet had. The miserable King having his reputation (the maine support of Maiestie) blowne vp with the hurlewinde of his pursuers, found few or no hands to aide him: So that, after hee had put *Hugh Spencer* the father into the Castle of *Bristoll*, with what defence could be prouided for the guarding thereof; hee leaues to trust the Land, and commits himselfe to a more vnfaithfull Element, the Sea, with purpose either to hide himselfe a while in the Isle of *Lundie*, or to passe ouer into *Ireland*; but tost to and fro with contrary windes (after Sir *Thomas Blunt* his Steward with others were shrunke from him) hee lands in *Wales* in *Glamorgan shire*; where, though hee found not saftie hee found loue and was hidden in the Abbey of *Neth*.

The King betakes him to the Sea.

The Queene with her Armie from *Oxford* goes to *Glocester*, where the Lords *Percie* and *Wake*, with ayde from the North, met her; and thence to *Bristoll*: assailes and winnes the Castle: puts to death the defender *Hugh Spencer* Earle of *Winchester* without forme or tryall of Law: causing him to bee drawne, and hanged, on the common gallowes in his Coat armour, cut vp before hee was dead, headed; and quartered. This done, shee passes to *Hereford*, and the King beeing not to bee found, Proclamation is made, that if hee would returne and conforme himselfe to rule the State as hee ought to doe, hee should come and receiue the gouernment thereof, by the generall consent of his people. But hee, either not daring (as destitute both of courage and counsell) to trust to this offer, or not well informed thereof, keepes himselfe still concealed. Whereupon (as may seeme was intended) aduantage is taken to dispose of the gouernment, and the Prince who is now vnder their guard, is made Guardian of the Kingdom, hath *Fealtie* sworne vnto him, and a new Chancelor, and Treasurer, are appointed.

Hugh Spencer the father hanged at *Bristol*.

Long it was not ere the King came to be discouered as a person too great for any couer, and was by *Henry* Earle of *Lancaster* brother to the late *Thomas*; *William* Lord *Louch* and *Ries ap Howell* taken and conuayed to the Castle of *Kenelworth*. The younger *Spencer* with *Baldocke* the Chancelor, and *Simon Reading* apprehended with him, are sent to the Queene to *Hereford*, *Spencer* (who was now Earle of *Glocester*) is drawne, and hangd on a gallowes Fifty foote high (wherein hee was exalted aboue his father, otherwise had the like execution) and likewise in his Coat armor, whereon was written *Quid gloriaris in malitia. Psal.* 52. *Simon Reading* was hanged Ten foote lower then hee: But *Baldocke* in regarde hee was a Priest, had the fauour to bee pined to death in *Newgate*. And here likewise a little before was the Earle of *Arundell* with two Barons, *Iohn Danyll*, and *Thomas Micheldeuer* executed as Traytors by the procurement of *Roger Mortimer*, for adhering to the Kings part.

The King taken prisoner.

To accompanie these mischiefes of the Countrey, the Commons of *London* made insurrection, and force their Maior, who held for the King to take their part, let out all prisoners, possesses them of the Tower, put to death the Constable thereof, Sir *Iohn Weston*, murther the Bishop of *Excester* to whom they bare an especiall hatred, for that being the Kings Treasurer hee caused the Iustices Itenerants to sit in *London* by whom they were grieuously fyned, and thus all is let out to libertie and confusion.

A Parlement at *London*, where the Prince is elected King.

After a moneths stay at *Hereford*, the Queene with her sonne returning kept Christmas at *Wallingford*, their Candlemas at *London*, where the Parlement being assembled agreed to depose the King, as vnfit to gouerne (obiecting many Articles against him) and to elect his eldest sonne *Edward*: which they did in the great Hall at *Westminster*, with the vniuersall consent of the people there present, and the Arch-

Reg. 20. *Anno.* 1327.

Archbishop of *Canterbury* makes a Sermon vpon this text, *Vox populi, vox Dei*, exhorting the people to inuoke the King of kings for him they had there chosen.

The Queene, either out of the consideration of the difference of a husband and a sonne (whom now shee was not like long to guide) or through remorse of conscience looking backe vpon what shee had done, takes this election grieuously to heart, insomuch as her sonne to recomfort her, swore hee would neuer accept of the Crowne without the consent of his father, whereupon by a common decree, three Bishops, two Earles, two Abbots, foure Barons, three Knights of euery Shire with a certaine number of Burgesses of euery Citie and Borough, and especially of the Cinq;-Ports, are sent to the imprisoned King at *Kenelworth*, to declare vnto him the election of his sonne, and to require the renuntiation of his Crowne and royall dignity, whereunto if hee would not consent, the State was resolued to proceed as it thought good. The King beeing first priuately made acquainted with the Message (the most harsh to Nature that could bee imparted) and by two, whom hee especially hated (for hauing especially offended them) the Bishoppes of *Hereford* and *Lincolne* was brought forth before the assembly; to whom as soone as his passion (wherewith hee was ouercharged, would giue him leaue) hee confessed, *how he had beene misguided (the common excuse of a poore spirit) and done many things whereof now hee repented, which if hee were to gouerne againe, hee would become a new man, and vvas most sorrowfull to haue so much offended the State, as it should thus vtterly reiect him*, but yet gaue them thankes that they were so gracious vnto him, as to elect his eldest sonne for King. Hauing spoken to this purpose, they proceed to the Ceremony of his resignation (which chiefly consisted in the surrender of his Crowne) for the forme whereof, beeing the first that euer was seene in *England*, they could followe no precedent but must make one, and *William Trussell* a Iudge put it into the Stile of Lawe to render it the more authenticall, and pronounced the same in this manner. *I* William Trussell *in the name of all men of the Land of* England, *and of all the Parlement Procurator, resigne to thee* Edward *the Homage that was made to thee sometime, and from this time forwards now following, I defie thee and priue thee of all royall power, and I shall neuer be tendant on thee as King after this time.* This was the last act and the first example of a deposed King, no lesse dishonorable to the State then to him. He was a Prince more weake then euill, and those exorbitances of his met with as great or greater in his people, who as wee see, delt ouer roughly and vnciuilly with him. Hee is reported by some to haue been learned (which perhaps might make him the softer) to haue written verses when hee was in prison: to haue founded *Oriall Colledge*, and *Saint Mary Hall* in *Oxford*.

The King is brought to resigne his Crowne.

The forme of his resignatiõ.

He had by his wife *Isabell* two sonnes, *Edward* borne at *Windsor*, who succeeded him, and *Iohn* Surnamed of *Eltham*, who was created Earle of *Cornewall An.* 1315. and died in the Flower of his youth in *Scotland*. And also two daughters, *Ioan* married to *Dauid* Prince of *Scotland*, and *Elienor* to the Duke of *Gelders*.

His issue.

The end of Edward *the second.*

The Life, and Raigne of Edward *the third.*

1327. *An. Reg.* 1.

VPpon the resignation of *Edward* the second, *Edward* his sonne of the age of fourteene yeares, beganne his Raigne the twentith of Ianuary 1327, and sends forth Proclamations of his peace into all Shires in this form. Edward *by the grace of God King of* England, *Lord of* Ireland, *Duke of* Aquitaine, *to N. N. our Shirife of S. greeting. Whereas the Lord* Edward, *late King* of England *our father by the common councell and assent of the Prelates, Earles, Barons, and other chiefe men, with the whole Communaltie of this Realme, did voluntarily amoue himselfe from the gouernement thereof, willing & granting that we as his eldest son and heire, should assume the same &c.* which proclamation made to palliat a wrong did but the more, discouer it. Within 5 daies after was he crowned at *West.* by *Walter* Archbishop of *Canterbury*: at which solemnity the Q. made shew of great sorrow & heuinesse

nesse, but being after pacified by the inlargement of her Ioynture (which tooke vp three parts of the Kings revenewes) she beganne to be of better cheere. Twelue especiall men are here appointed to manage the affaires of the Kingdome, till the King were of fit yeeres to governe of himselfe: The Arch-bishops of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Hereford* and *Worcester*, *Thomas Bretherton* Earle Mareschall; *Edmond* Earle of Kent, *Iohn* Earle *Warrein*, *Thomas* Lord *Wake*, *Henry* Lord *Percie*, *Oliver* Lord *Ingham*, and *Iohn* Lord *Rose*; but the Queene and *Roger* Lord *Mortimer* vsurped this charge, and tooke all wholy to themselues. And to busie the present and vphold this *Change*, an expedition instantly is vndertaken for *Scotland*, wherein (those strangers still retained which the Queene brought over with her) are imployed vnder the conduct of the Lord *Iohn Beaumont* brother to the Earle of *Haynault*, and at *Yorke* the whole Army were to meete, where the *English* (being not all of a party) quarrell with those strangers, and so great a conflict arose betweene them as cost some bloud, and was hardly appeased, an ill presage of that iourney.

The Queene hath her ioynture inlarged. Twelue especiall men chosen for the government. An expedition into *Scotland*.

At *Stanhop* Parke the *English* Army incounter the *Scottish*, and though the *English* were thrice greater, and might easily haue vanquished them, yet by the treason of some great men (as it was bruited) they escaped all away, and nothing was done; so that the yong King borne for victories, was deprived the honour of his first action, which yet, being not conducted by his own Spirit, was held more dishonorable to others then to him. Vpon their returne, all the *Hannowayes* and Stipendaries are sent home into their own Countries.

The *Scots* retyre from *Stanhope* Parke, & nothing done.

During this businesse the deposed King remaines prisoner at *Killingworth*, with the allowance of 100 markes a month for his expences, deprived of all those comforts the world should yeeld him. His wife whom he loved (though now the author of all his misery) sends vnto him letters and apparell, but excuses her comming as being not permitted by the State: Neither was he thought safe enough where hee was, nor so straitly lookt unto, as they desired to haue him, being in the custody of his Vncle the Earle of *Lancaster*; And therefore they commit him to other guardians, and men of the most rough Natures could be found, the Lord *Matrevers* and *Thomas Gourney*, who from thence removed him to the Castle of *Berckley* in *Gloucestershire*, where long hee staid not, but was conveyed to *Corfe* Castle, and thence to other places vp and downe to beguile and disappoint his friends, by the vncertainety of his being, if any plot were laid (which they doubted) to restore him. Besides to disguise him the more, and that hee might not be easily knowne, they shaue his *Head* and *Beard*, which as a servant of his Sir *Thomas de la More* a Knight of *Gloucestershire* reports (who wrote his life) was done in the open fields, by the commandement of *Gourney* who most barbarously caused the miserable King to sit on a Mole-hill whilst the Barber shaved him, and to take cold water out of a ditch to wash him withall, which the patient King (saith this Reporter) seeing, told them, *That yet in despight of them he would haue warme water at his Barbing*, and therewithall shed aboundance of teares. Other vile reproches this savage Taylor put vpon his annointed Soveraigne, as he re-conveyed him backe to *Berckley* Castle, where shortly after he, and *Matrevers* caused him to be murthered in a most hideous manner by thrusting vp a hot Iron into his bowels thorow an hollow instrument, whereby no outward Note might appeare to bewray how hee came by his death: For the body being after laid forth, and vewed by many substantiall Citizens of *Bristoll* and *Gloucester* (called thither for that purpose) they could finde no signe either of wound or poyson, so that their Evidence confirmed the report that was given out, how he died of extreme greife. This was the end of *Edward* the 2 within eight months after his deposing.

The miserable estate of the imprisoned King.

He is murthered at *Berkley* Castle.

The deed doers *Matrevers* and *Gourney* though they had commission and great hopes giuen them to do as they did, yet being by those who were ashamed to avow it, they durst not abide the triall, but as Fugitiues fled presently their Countrey: *Gourney* three yeeres after was taken at *Merseilles*, and murthered on the Sea before he came to *England*, that hee might tell no tales who set him on work. But this was not all the bloud this deed cost, the iudgement of God fell heavily, not onely vpon the great

contrivers, but even vpon the whole Kingdome: and what the yſſue of this preſent Prince, whoſe throne (though without his guilt) was thus ſet vp on his fathers bloud, ſuſtained in after times, the many imbrued Scaffolds, the divers bloudy fields, the infinite ſlaughters in the civill diſcord of their divided families, which the conſumed race of the moſt part of all this preſent Nobility will teſtifie. But now for the preſent, the authors of this change vſe all meanes to increaſe and fortifie their owne fortunes, whilſt the State in generall receiues no great ſatiſfaction thereby. Mens expectations are not anſwered in that manner as they were conceived, The Queene mother and her Minion *Mortimer* (lately created Earle of the Marches of *Wales*) guide all, and all that is not well done, or amiſſe in the Governement is now attributed to them and their councell: So that diſcontentments ingender new Factions according to the Nature of turbulent times.

1328. *Anno.* *Reg.* 2.

The Kings marriage with *Phillippa* of *Haynault* is ſolemnized, and a Parlement is held at *Northampton*, where a diſhonourable peace is concluded with the *Scots*, and confirmed by a match between *David Bruce* Prince of *Scotland*, ſonne to *Robert Bruce*, and *Ioane* ſiſter to the King of *England*, which match by reaſon of the tender age of the Prince, being but ſeven yeares old, could promiſe little good. Beſides by the ſecret working of the Queene Mother, the Earle of *March*, and Sir *Iames Douglaſſe*, *The King ſurrenders by his Charter his Title of Soveraignety to the Kingdome of Scotland, restores divers Deeds, and inſtruments of their former Homages and Fealties, with the famous Euidence called the* Ragman Roole, *and many ancient Iewels and Monuments amongſt which was the* Blacke Croſſe of Scotland, &c. *Moreover any Engliſhman is prohibited to hold Lands in Scotland, vnleſſe he dwelt there.* In conſideration whereof *King Bruce was to pay* 30 *thouſand Markes.* Shortly after another Parlement is held at *Wincheſter*, where *Edmond* Earle of *Kent*, brother to the late depoſed King, is accuſed and condemned vpon his confeſſion, for intending the reſtoring of his brother, and conferring with divers great men concerning the ſame, but without any matter of fact. This miſerable Earle ſtood on the Scaffold from one till fiue, and no Executioner could bee found to diſpatch him, at length a ſilly wretch of the *Marſhalſey* cut off his head.

A Parlement at North.

A diſhonorable peace made with *Scotl.*

These violences and vnpleaſing courſes in a new alteration, could not long hold without effecting another, which the next yeare produced. A Parlement is held at *Nottingham* wherein all the power and glory of the Queen and *Mortimer* (being ſcarce of three yeares growth) were overthrowne; the Queene hath all her great Ioynture taken from her, and put to her penſion of 1000 pounds *per annum*, *Mortimer* is accuſed *to haue procured the late Kings death; to be the authour of the Scots ſafe eſcaping from Stanhope Parke, corrupted with the gift of twenty thouſand pounds: to haue procured the late marriage, & peace with Scotl. ſo diſhonourable to the King and Kingdom: to haue conſumed the Kings treaſure, beſides all what was taken from the* Spencers: *to haue beene too familiar with the Queen, &c.* And for theſe haynous offences is condemned of high treaſon, ſent vp to *London*, drawn and hanged at the common Gallowes at the *Elms*, now called *Tyburne*, where his body remained two daies as an opprobrious ſpectacle for all beholders. Such were the tragicall and bloudy returnes, thoſe ambitious ſupplanters of others, got by exchange of the times, which now, may ſeeme, made the world weary of ſuch violences, and more wary to runne into them. And the King growing to yeares of more Ability to governe of himſelfe, wrought a greater reſpect of his ſervice in thoſe who were of power about him, ſeeing him to be of a ſpirit likely to go through with his work, and therefore they vſe their beſt advice to put him into courſes that might be moſt honourable for him and the Kingdome. The ſtaines which his youth had received by ſuch as governed the ſame, are now diſcovered, and meanes deviſed how to take them of. And withall, occaſions fall out to put him into Action.

A Parlement at Nottingham.

Articles againſt *Mortimer.*

He is hanged at Tyburne.

And firſt a new King of *France* lately crowned (vpon the death of *Charles le Bel* without iſſue Male) requires his homage according to the cuſtome for the Duchy of *Guien* and his other lands in *France* held of that Crowne: whereunto though King *Edward* was ſuppoſed to haue the better right, yet ſeeing *Phillip de Valois* was now in poſſeſſion of the ſame, and himſelfe then yong, his owne Kingdome factious, turbulent and

King *Edward* is ſummoned to do his homage to *Phillip de Valois* K. of *France.*

and vnsettled, he was not as yet otherwise then by Law (which seldome gets a Crown) able to debate his title; and therefore is content to temporise; and goe ouer in person to performe this ceremony, which did much preiudice his after claime, layde an imputation vppon the iustnesse of his cause, hauing thereby acknowledged and made good the right of his Competitor.

The difference betweene them stood thus: *Philip le Bell* father to *Isabell*, Mother to King *Edward*, had three sonnes, *Louys*, *Philip*, and *Charles* which all were successiuely Kings of *France*, and died without any issue male to inherite the kingdome, and notwithstanding *Louys* the eldest sonne had a daughter, whom *Eudes* Earle of *Bologne* her vncle by the mother laboured to haue crowned Queene, yet for that it was adiudged contrary to the *Salicq̃ Lawe*, which debarred women from the succession, *Phillip* the younger brother of *Louys* is ad admitted to the Crowne. This *Phillip* likewise left foure daughters, and yet doth *Charles* his brother succede him by the force of the same lawe (which passed now as a case adiudged) without any controuersie. *Charles* dying leaues his wife young with childe: difference arises about the *Regencie* of that kingdome, betweene King *Edward* of *England* the Nephew, and *Phillip de Valois*, Cosen-german to the last King *Charles*. This *Phillip* was the first Prince of the blood, sonne to *Charles de Valois*, brother to *Phillip le Bell*. And though King *Edward* was in degree nearer then hee, yet was the *Regencie* adiudged to *Phillip* (if the Queene brought forth a sonne) as descending from a brother more capable of the Crowne then King *Edward* descending from a daughter that was vncapable, as they alleadged.

The Title of K. *Ed.* to the Crowne of *France*.

The Queene at length deliuered of a daughter the processe is ended, and *Phillip* receiued and crowned King of *France*, by their *Salicq̃ Lawe*, maintained to be vnviolable. *Robert de Artois* a Peere of great power, was a speciall meanes of his preferment, and the exclusion of King *Edward*, who shortly after vppon Sommons giuen (as is afore said) goes ouer and meetes King *Phillip* at *Amiens*; where, by the Councels of both Kings, two especiall points are debated, *the one concerning the quallity of the Homage, pretended liege by the Councell of King* Phillip, *but denied by that of King* Edward. The second point, *for the lands in* Guiene, *which the last King* Charles *had detayned as his, whereof the Councell of King* Edward *demanded restitution, as appertaining to that Duchy*. The Composition for this last point was easie, in regard of the treatie of *Peace* made betweene the saide King *Charles* and *Edward* the second, the last of May 1325. wherein their rights were saued by protestations reciprocall, aduised and receiued in offer and acceptance of Homage made to the saide King *Charles* by this *Edward* before hee was King, which protestations were agreed to be followed and repeated in this, with Couenant that if King *Edward* would pursue his right in Parlement, he should haue iustice done him accordingly for those things in controuersie. Now for the first point concerning the quallity of his Homage, it was accorded without specifying the same, that it should be done and receiued according to the vsuall manner of former kings, with sufficient time granted to King *Edward* to inquire of the said quallity, and to make his declaration thereof. And thereuppon the sixt of Iune 1329. King *Edward* in a Crimson veluet gowne imbroydered with *Leopards*, with his Crowne on his head, his sword by his side, and golden spurres on his heeles, presents himselfe in the body of the Carhedrall Church at *Amiens* before King *Phillip*, sitting in his chaire of estate in a veluet gowne of violet colour, imbroydered with floures *de lis* of gold, his Crowne on his head, and his Scepter in his hand with all his Princes and Peeres about him. The Viscount *Melun* Chamberlaine of *France*, first commands King *Edward* to put off his Crowne, his sword, and his spurres and to kneele downe, which hee did on a crimosine veluet cushion before King *Phillip*, and then the Viscount putting both his hands together betweene the hands of the King of *France*, pronounced the words of the Homage which were these: *You become Liegeman to the King my maister here present as Duke of* Guyene *and Peere of* France, *and you promise to beare* faith *and* loyalty *vnto him. Say yea, and King* Edward *said, yea, and kisses the King of* France (*as the Lord of the Fee*) *m*

1331. *An. Reg.* 5.

Iean Tilet. K. *Ed.* doth Homage to the *French* K.

The forme of the Homage.

in the mouth, the like Homage hee then did for the Earledome of *Ponthieu*

This act of submission performed in the person of a King, young, actiue, hauty, and powerfull, who held himselfe wronged in doing it to whom hee did, bred that rancour in his heart, as it had beene better for all Christendome that Ceremony had beene spared at this time, and not so punctually beene exacted by King *Phillip*; whom their owne Historians blame for standing so much vpon his Regality, with one as mighty as himselfe, and more able and likely to shake his new gotten Throne then any other whatsoeuer: to whose passion considering the fiery heat of his youth, hee should rather haue ministered *Oyle* then *Vinegar*, and more hospitably intertained him in his Court, comming with that State and Magnificence, as hee did, attended with the best of all the kingdome of *England* to shew what he was, and to beget a respect of his high estate. But these are the errours of improuident Princes, who carried with the sway of their owne will, imbroyle themselues and their subiects, that euer suffer the worst and are sure to pay dearely for others faults.

K. Ed. returns out of *France* intertaines the *Scottish* businesse.

And now thus wounded in reputation, with a minde swolne for reuenge, the King of *England* returnes to settle his affaires at home, where *Scottish* businesses fall out to intertaine him. The late peace concluded with them is held so dishonourable, as it must not holde, and to breake the same, followed an occasion begunne vppon their owne quarells. The tender age of their King (the affliction of kingdomes) with the emulation and factions in great men, put *Edward Balliol* sonne to *Iohn Balliol* (sometime King of *Scotland*) thirtie two yeares after his fathers deposition, to attempt the recouery of that Crowne: and out of *France*, where hee had all that while remained, hee comes by the solicitation of his friends into *England*, where hee was permitted vnderhand to get ayde, and had all such *Scots* and *English* who were of the faction against *Bruce* to take his part, and with them hee sodainely assailes those who had the gouernment of that kingdome during the nonage of the young King *Dauid* (beeing at that time with the King of *France*) and ouercame them in a battayle, with the slaughter of many Noble men, and Thousands of the common people, and thereuppon was immediately crowned King of *Scotland* at *Scone*. But his party being not so potent as they could maintaine and defend his quarrell against all those which opposed it, hee was forced notwithstanding this great defeit, to retire him into *England* to get more ayde of King *Edward*; who now shewes himselfe in the action, ioynes with *Baliol* against his brother in law king *Dauid*, goes in person with a strong Army to recouer *Berwicke*, which after three moneths siege, being valiantly defended by the Lord *Seton*, was againe taken in, and the Army of the *Scots* which came to the rescue thereof at *Halidowne hill* vtterly defeited: where were slaine seuen Earles, 900 Knights and Baronets, foure hundred Esquires, and about two and thirty thousand common souldiers, as our writers report, theirs, fourteene thousand. And with this effusion of blood is *Baliol* returned to his miserable kingdome.

Ed. Balliol comes out of *France* defeited his oppossers & is crowned King of *Scotland*.

Berwick recouered.

The bataile of Halidown hil.

A memorable act in the oppugnation of *Berwicke*.

In this oppugnation of *Berwicke*, though my haste bee great, I must not so much trespasse vertue as to ouerpasse one memorable perticular, recorded by the *Scottish* writers, which is, how the Lord *Seton* seeing all reliefe failing, and the assaults so violent, as hee could not long holde out, conditions with king *Edward*, if rescue came not at such a day to render him vp the towne: and for assurance deliuers him two of his sonnes. Shortly after king *Edward*, hauing notice of the *Scottish* Army approaching with greater power and speed then hee expected, and likely to bee there before the day, *sommons the Lord* Seton *to render the towne presently, otherwise he should see his two sonnes executed before his face*, and withall a Gallowes is made ready within sight of the towne, the young Gentlemen brought forth and vnder the hand of the Executioner; wherewith the distressed Lord, rent betweene those powerfull passions of Nature and Honour, standing doubtfull what to doe, his wife the mother of those sonnes, a Lady more then a woman, comes vnto him, exhorts him *to remember his Fealty sworne to the King, his Charity to his Countrie, the dignity of his noble Familie, that they had other children left though these were destroyed, and besides themselues were not so olde, but that they might haue more. How those, if they should bee preserued from death at this*

this time might otherwise shortly perish by some worse occasion: And what a staine he should lay on the name of Seton, *and their posteritie for ever, by a base act of yeelding and betraying the place committed vnto him: whereby also hee was not certaine whether he should preserue his children or no: for how could hee hope that this King, who had violated his first promise with him, would performe the last. And therefore besought him that hee would not prefer an vncertaine and momentany benefite, before a certaine and perpetuall ignominy.* And so recovering her Lords resolution for holding out, withdrew him from the walles, into some other parts aside, that he might not be Spectator of the execution of his innocent children.

The next yeare after this defeit at *Hallidown* Hill, *Edward Baliol* King of *Scots* at *Newcastle* doth Homage to the King of *England* as his superiour Lord, and takes his oath of *Fealty, Binding himselfe and his heires to hold that Kingdome of him and his successors for ever with the inheritance of fiue Countries next adioyning to the Borders.* So large a part yeelds hee to forgoe, rather then to be in danger to loose the whole, which yet could not secure his estate, but rather imbroyled it the more, by reason of the discontent which most part of the Nobles of *Scotland* conceived vpon this act of Alienation, and subiection of their Country. Insomuch as it gaue both Kings, continuall occasion of trouble for a long time after, with the expence of infinite treasure. There was granted to the King of *England* for these warres a *Fifteenth* of the *Temporalty*, a Twelfe of Cities and Boroughes, and a Tenth of the Clergie, in a Parlement holden at *London*. And 3 yeats together the King goes in person with armies into those parts, and never returned without destruction and bloud-shed of that afflicted people: inso much as it may moue vs to admire, how it could be possible that little corner of this Isle, being no more fertile, and withal so often wasted could breed so many (had it bred nothing but men) as had beene slaine in battaile within these fifty yeares past, and yet still to be able to supply and furnish their fields with such numbers as they did, both to maintaine their own quarrels, defend their liberties, and that poore ground they dwelt vpon, which was not worth so much bloud as it cost them, deserving to haue had a better peece of earth, and a more perspicuous place in the world to haue shewed those acts of magnanimity and courage, as they did.

1333. *An. Reg.* 7. *Edward Baliol* doth Homage for the Kingdome of *Scotl.*

A Parlement holden at *London.*

A remarkable consideration.

The reason that moved King *Edward* with such violence to prosecute the businesse of *Scotland* was out of a desire, so to settle the same, as hee might be wholy for the designes hee had vpon *France*, which chiefly he intended, and was the sooner put thereinto by the instigation of *Robert de Artois*, who being chased from thence by King *Phillip* his brother in Law, comes over into *England*, and is heere intertained with great honour.

1336. *Anno. Reg.* 10.

This *Robert* a Prince of the bloud of *France* descended from *Robert* sonne to *Louys* the eighth, brother to S. *Louys*, had long contention with *Maud* his Aunt Countesse of *Burgogne* about the Earledome of *Artois*; and presuming vpon his owne power, his alliance with King *Phillip* who had married his sister, and the service he had done in advancing him to the Crowne, counterfeits a *Deed* thereby to overthrow his Aunts right, which being afterward discovered, made it the more, and moved the *French* King to giue iudgement on her side, so that the County of *Artois* was by arrest of Parlement, confirmed vpon *Maud*, which so offended *Robert*, as in his rage, he openly said, *Hee would vnmake the King by the same power hee made him*: Which rash menace vttered before many witnesses so stung the *French* King, as presently he layes to apprehend him, but fayling therein, causes him to be proclaimed Traitor, confiscates all his estate, forbids his subiects whosoever, either without or within the Kingdome, which held of that Crowne, in any sort to receiue him, comfort, counsell or aide him, vpon paine of confiscation of body and goods: and withall charges them by any meanes to seise vpon his person, and to send him prisoner vnto him. Whereupon this chased Prince finding no place on that side safe for him, ouer he comes into *England*, is ioyfully entertained by King *Edward*, made of his Councell, invested in the Earledome of *Richmond*, and heere is he the *Kindle-fire* between these two mighty Nations, and began such a flame, as lasted aboue an hundred yeares after

Robert de Artois discontented with the *Fr.* King.

Iean Tillet.

Robert de Artois comes into *Engl.*

ter, and the smoake thereof much longer. First hee discovers to King *Edward* the secrets of their Councels in *France*, and what meanes had beene vsed for the advancement of King *Phillip*, whose tytle he now disapproues, and prefers that of King *Edward*, as more iust: and a declaration is published and sent to the Pope and all the Neighbour Princes shewing the vsurpation of *Phillip de Valois* vpon that Crowne.

Vid. Apend.

Now had King *Edward* ever since his returne from *Amiens* prepared to make good his party to oppose the *French King*, and by the assistance of his Father in law *William* Earle of *Haynault*, combined with the Dukes of *Brabant*, and *Geldres*, the Earle of *Iuliers*, the Archbishop of *Cologne*, *Valeran* his brother, *Iohn* of *Haynault*, and other Princes of *Germany*. And besides, had of late obtained by great gifts of *Louys de Bavier*, the present Emperour, to be Vicar Generall of the Empire, whereby he was to haue all those Princes confiners vpon *France*, who held of the same, to doe him seruice. And this grace the Emperour did him, the rather for that hee had stood for him against his competitor *Fredericke* of *Austrich*, with whom the *French* King tooke part; and besides he had married King *Edwards* wiues sister, which might be a motiue to procure him this honour. Then seeks hee to gaine and draw in the *Flemmings*, whose Earle though adhering to the *French* King as his Vassall; yet the Cities which ever entertained a kinde of liberty among themselues, were easily wonne to take part with King *Edward*, in regard their wealth chiefly grew by the wools of this Kingdome, which by a Parlement holden at *London*, *Anno Reg.* 9. were prohibited to bee transported vnwrought, *That Clothes should be made here, and habitation with all Priuileges and Liberties allowed to Such Artificers as would come from other parts to inhabite.* Besides it was enacted, *That none should weare other then English Cloath, except the King, Queene and their Children, that no man should weare any facing of silkes or furres, but such as could dispend* 100 *pounds, per annum.* But those ordinances (more beneficiall to this Kingdome then these warres will bee) were vpon this new entertained correspondence with the people of *Flanders*, soone after neglected; but yet the making of cloth continued, and many come out of *Flanders* to exercise that trade in *England*.

K. Ed. made Vicar generall of the Empire.

The making of cloath introduced in this kingdom.

The first sumptuary Law we finde in our History.

Now there was among the *Flemmings* one *Iaques de Artevile*, Citizen of *Gaunt*, a Brewer as some say (but of more then Beere) a man of greatest estimation amongst the people, and was as their Tribune or Chiefetaine in their tumults, him King *Edward* gets by great rewards to take his part, and thereby had them all ready to assaile the *French* King vpon any occasion.

K. Ed. winnes *Iaques d' Artiuile.*

Having thus prepared his party abroad, all meanes are deuised to raise monyes at home to supply this busines. *The Tenth peny of Townes and Boroughes, a Fifteenth of others, and a Tenth of the Clergie is granted in a Parlement at Northampton. All such treasure as was committed to Churches throughout England for the holy warre is taken out for the Kings vse in this. The next yeare after, all the goods of three orders of Monkes, Lombards, Clunacens and Cistercences are likewise seised into the Kings hands: and the like Subsidie as before, granted at Nottingham. Honours are likewise bestowed on many Noblemen to encourage them in this entended action. Henry* of *Lancaster* the yonger, is created Earle of *Derby*, *William Mountacute* Earle of *Salisburie*, *Hugh Audeley* Earle of *Glocester*, *William Clinton* Earle of *Huntington*, *William Bohun* Earle of *Northampton*, *Robert Vfford* Earle of *Suffolke*: Prince *Edward* was likewise at this time created Earle of *Chester*, and Duke of *Cornewall*. *In anno Reg.* 12. at a Parlement at *Northampton* (as some write in the absence of the King) *was granted by the Laytie, one halfe of their Wools, but of the Clergie was levied the whole, and they were caused to pay Nine Markes for every sacke of fine Wooll. The next yeare after a Fifteenth was likewise paid in Wooll by the Comunaltie.* And now for the better managing of his worke abroad (hauing well accommodated the *Scottish* affaires) hee goes ouer into *Flanders*, takes with him his Queen and children, lies at *Antwerp*, where, by perswasion of the *Flemings* hee tooke vppon him the Stile, Title, and Armes of the King of *France*, whereby they held they might the better iustifie their partaking in his quarrell, and dispence with their oath formerly made to the French King, hauing besides bound themselues in 20 hundred thousand crownes neuer to beare Armes against the King of *France*, and thereupon the league was established

Meanes vsed for mony. *Vid. Apend.*

Reg. 12. *Anno.* 1338.

A Subsedie of Woll.

K. Ed. goes into *Fland.* with his wife and children.

blished between them and King *Edward*. The *French* King was not behind in his preparations and confederacies, having to take his part the King of *Bohemia*, the Count Palatine of *Rhene* (who covenanted to serue him against K. *Edward* and his adherents, with 300 horse for 56000 *Florins*) The Bishop of *Mets*, *Albert* & *Otho* Dukes of *Austrich*, *Theodore* Marquesse of *Monferat*, *Amè* Earle of *Geneva*, besides many Princes of Estate, and divers great Captaines out of *Germany*, *French-County*, *Sauoy*, *Dauphine*, *Spaine* and other Countries. So that all the best of the Christian World, ate either in Armes, or aiding in this quarrell, between these two mighty Kings. Long were they preparing and making a noyse before they came to grapple; and much was wrought by the Pope, and the King of *Sicile*, a great *Astrologer*, who devined by skill hee had in the Stars of much future calamity to *France*, to haue accorded them, which would not be.

The *French* Kings partakers.

Meanes to appease these two Kings.

The Preface of this warre began on the Borders of each others State: On this side King *Edward* sets vpon *Cambray* defended by the *French*. *Phillip* on the other, seises on the Duchie of *Guyen*, and thither sends *Conte d'Eu* Constable of *France* with the Earles of *Foix* and *Arminiacq*, who surprize many strong peeces thereof: Besides he hath a great Navy at Sea which committed much spoile on the coast of *England*. King *Edward* enters *France* by the way of *Vermandois* and *Thierache*, approaches neere to King *Phillip*: Both Armies were lodged between *Viron fosse* and *La Flamenguere*, the day of the fight appointed vpon the Friday after, the Battailes on both sides made ready, the advantage of number was on the *French*; But both Armies furnished with braue men of warre, and circumspect, depart without incounter: The *French* esteeming it no discretion to put the person, and state of their King to the hazard of Battell within his owne Kingdom: And the *English* consisting of lesse number, thought fit not to assaile them: and so they passed the day in Countenances, and nothing was done. Onely this accident fell out, which after gaue matter of sport: A Hare starting before the head of the *French* Army, a great shot was suddainely made, which they who were behind supposing to haue been vpon the on-set of Battaile, disposed themselues to fight: some *Esquires* for their more incouragement, are according to the custome presently Knighted, who were ever after called *Knights of the Hare*.

The *French* King seises on Duchy of *Guyen*.

King *Edward* enters into *France*.

Froissart.

Knights of the Hare.

The next morning earely both Kings dislodge, the *French* retires to *Paris*, the King of *England* into *Brabant*, where after he had strongly fastened his confederates, and disposed of his affaires, he leaues the Queene and returnes into *England* about Candlemasse, having been in *Brabant* aboue a yeere, lands at the Towre about Midnight (and finding it vnguarded was much displeased) sends for the *Maior of London*, whom hee commanded to bring before him the *Chancelor* and *Treasurer*, with *Iohn S. Paul* *Michael Wath*, *Phillip Thorp*, *Hen. Stratford* Clergie men (who it seemes were officers for his receipts) and *Iohn Sconer* Iustice of the Bench, all which, except the Chancellour were arrested and committed to prison, as were afterward in like manner diverse officers of Iustice and Accomptants vpon inquirie made of their vniust proceeding.

1330. *An.* *Reg.* 14.

Then cals hee a Parlement at *London* in Lent *which granted vnto him for custome of every Sacke of Wooll, Forty shillings, for every 300 Wooll-fells, Forty shillings, for every Last of Leather, Forty shillings: and of other Merchandizes according to that rate*, the same to indure from that *Easter* to the *Whitsontide* Twelue-month after. Besides, there was granted *of Citizens and Burgesses, a Nynth part of Goods, of Forrain Merchants and other a Fifteenth, of Husbandmen, the Ninth Sheaffe, the Ninth Fleece, the Ninth Lambe for two yeares*. Also *another Tenth of the Clergie*. And for his present supply, hee hath Loanes of divers wealthy *persons, and the Citie of London lent 20 thousand Marks*. For the grant of which mighty Subsidie, the King (*besides his Pardon to divers kinds of offenders*) *remits all Amercements for transgression in his Forrests, Reliefes, and scutage vnto the first time of his going into Flanders: Besides all Aydes for the marriages of his Sonnes and Daughters during his raigne: pardoning and remitting all ancient debts and arrerages both of his Fermors and others any way due, in the time of his Progenitors, and his owne, till the tenth yeare of his raigne (excepting such as were compounded for, and determined to be paid into his Exchequer) and here he likewise confirmes the great Charter.*

A Parlement at *London*.

Great Subsides granted.

Custome, at first but temporarie.

Pardons and Remission of antient Debts.

Retribution.

During

The Earles of *Salisbury* and *Suffolke* taken prisoners in *France*.

During King *Edwards* aboade in *England*, *William Montague* Earle of *Salisbury*, and *Robert Vfford* Earle of *Suffolke*, left in *Flanders* to oppose the proceeding of the *French*, having performed divers great exploits with happy successe, and presuming overmuch vpon their fortune, were in an incounter about *Lisle*, so overlaide by multitude, as they were both taken and sent prisoner to *Paris*, to the great ioy of the *French* King: who now to impeach the King of *Englands* returne, had prepared a mighty Navie in the Haven of *Sluce*, consisting of 200 Saile of Ships (besides many Gallies) and two thousand armed men in the Port, ready to incounter him vpon his landing: Whereof King *Edward* being advertised, provides great strength, with the like number of Shippes, and sets out to Sea vpon *Midsomer Eue*, is met the morrow after with a Navie likewise from the North parts, conducted by Sir *Robert Morley*, and incounters his enemy which lay to intercept him, with such force and courage, and advantage of winde and Sun, as he vtterly defeited their whole Navie, took or suncke all their Ships, slew 30 thousand men, and landed with as great glory, as such a victorie (the greatest that ever before was gotten by the *English* at Sea) could yeeld. Most of the *French*, rather then to endure the Arrowes, and sharpe swords of the *English*, or be taken, desperately leape into the Sea. Whereupon the *French* Kings Iester, set on to giue him notice of this overthrow (which being so ill newes, none else willingly would impart on the suddaine) said, and oftentimes re-iterated the same, *Cowardly Englishmen, Dasterdly Englishmen, Faint-hearted Englishmen.* The King at length asked him *Why:* For that said he, *They durst not leap out of their ships into the Sea, as our braue French-men did.* By which speech the King apprehended a notion of this overthrow: which the *French* attribute to *Nicholas Buchet* one of their chiefe Commanders, who had armed his Ships with men of base condition (content with small pay) and refused Gentlemen, and sufficient Souldeirs, in regard they required greater wages: and it often happens that the *Anaries* of Commanders haue beene the occasion of great defeits.

King *Edward* vanquishes the *French* Kings great Navie.

Iean Tillet.

But this losse much abated the power of the *French* King, who notwithstanding in these *Martiall times* was soone supplyed, both out of his owne Dominions, and those of his Confederates, and makes a mighty head against this victorious, powerfull and freshly furnished King of *England*; who suddainely sets downe before *Tourney*, with all his owne and his adherents forces. And from *Chyn* (a place neere-by where hee lodged) sends his *Cartell* the 17 of *Iuly*, to *Phillip de Valois*, lodging at S. *Andrew les Aire* with his puissant army. Declaring *how he with the power of his owne Kingdome, and aide of the Flemmings, was come to recover his right in the Kingdome of France vnrightly detained from him, contrary to the Lawes of God and Man: and that seeing no other meanes would serue, hee was forced in this manner to haue recourse to his sword. Notwithstanding seeing the businesse was between them two, hee offers for the auoiding of Christian blood, and deuastation of the Country, to try the same by combat in close Campe, body to body, or each of them accompaned with 100 choyce persons: which if the said* Phillip *refused, then to strike battell within ten daies after, before the Cittie of Tourney.*

King *Edward* besiges *Tourney*, and sends his Challenge to the French King.

The *French* Kings answer to the Challenge.

Phillip de Valois returnes answer the last of *Iuly* in this manner, *Phillip by the grace of God King of France, to Edward King of England: Wee haue perused your letters sent to the Court of* Phillip de Valois, *containing certaine requests to the said* Phillip: *and for that it appeareth those letters and requests were not written or made vnto vs, wee will in no sort answer you. But seeing by those letters, and otherwise wee vnderstand how you, led by Wilfulnesse, without all reason, haue entred our Kingdome of France with armed power, and committed no small dammage in the same, and on our people, contrary to the duety of a Liegeman: having lately sworne homage vnto vs, acknowledging vs, as by right King of France, and haue promised that obedience which is due from the Vassall to his Liege-Lord, as is manifest by your letters Patents vnder your great Seale, which we haue with vs, and you likewise ought to haue the same with you. And therefore our intention is as becomes our Honour, to chace you out of our Kingdome, as we firmely hope in Christ (from whom we haue our power) to do. For that by this your warre, most wickedly begunne, our Iourney vndertaken for the East is hindred, no small number of Christians there murthered, the holy service neglected, and the Church dishonoured. And whereas you alledge you possesse the aide of the Flemmings, wee are assuredly*

assuredly perswaded, that they with the Communalty of their Countrie, will so beare themselues towardes our Cosen their Earle and vs their superiour Lords, as they will not omit to obserue their honour and fidelity, whatsoeuer hath beene by some, through ill counsell perpetrated for their owne priuate, contrary to the common good.

The French write how King *Phillip* with this Letter sent worde to King *Edward*, *how by his Cartell hee aduentured nothing of his owne, but onely exposed the dominion of another, which was without all reason. If hee would hazard the kingdome of* England *(though it were lesse) against the kingdome of* France, *the said King* Phillip *would enter combate in close campe with him, on condition the Victor should enioy both kingdomes.* But that, they say, King *Edward* would not doe.

Three moneths the siege of *Turney* had continued (and nothing effected but the waste of the Countrie about) all the eyes of Christendome bent vpon this action, both kingdomes, deeply ingaged, expecting with anxiety the doubtfull euent thereof, when *Iane de Valois* sister to *Phillip*, widdow of *William* late Duke of *Haynault*, and mother to *Phillippa* wife to King *Edward*, a Princesse of excellent vertue, came from *Fountenelles* where shee had rendered herselfe a Nun vowed to God, to mediate a peace betweene these two inraged Kings, her brother and her sonne in lawe: and labours to stay the sword of destruction lift vp for blood, trauayling from one to the other (stubbornly bent to their intentions) and neuer left them (though often denyed) till shee had with great patience, and wise counsell quallified their boyling passions, in such sort as she obtained day and place for both Kings to parle together. A memorable worke to bee effected by a woman, especially in such an age of Iron as that was. This parle brought forth a truce for one yeare, and both these great Armies are dissolued. The French King returnes home, and so doth the King of *England* with his Queene: who had remained in those parts three yeares, and had there brought forth two sonnes, *Lionell*, afterwardes Duke of *Clarence*, and *Iohn* borne at *Gant*, who first was Earle of *Richmond*, and after Duke of *Lancaster*.

A mediation for peace.

A Truce concluded.

Anno Reg. 15.

But King *Edwards* condiscending to this sudden truce, had indeed no other motiue thē the want of his supplies of treasure, which came short to his expectation, notwithstanding those mighty impositions which were laid on his subiects. And whereas hee had vpon his last returne into *England*, in great displeasure, remoued his Chancellor, and imprisoned his Treasorer, with other Officers (most of them Cleargymen) and still held them in durance, *Iohn Stratford* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, (on whom the King laid the blame of his wants) writes him a most bolde and peremptory Letter to this effect: first shewing him *how it was for the safety of Kings and their kingdomes, to vse graue and wise Counsailors, alledging many examples out of holy Writ of the flourishing happinesse of such as tooke that course, and their infelicity who followed the contrary. Then wills him to remember how his father led by euill counsell vexed the kingdome, putting to death, contrary to the lawe of the Land, diuerse of the Nobility, and wished him to consider what happened thereby vnto him. Also to call to minde, how himselfe at first, through euill counsell about him, had almost lost the hearts of his people.* But afterwards, *by the great circumspection and care of his Prelates and Nobles, his affaires were reduced into so good order as hee recouered them, and now possessed them in such sort, as they all, both Cleargy and Lay, haue yeelded their helping hands, more to him then to any of his Progenitors, whereby hee had gloriously triumphed ouer his enemies, the* French *and* Scots, *and is reputed the noblest Prince of Christendome. But now at this present, through the wicked counsell of such as affect their owne profit more then his honour, or the welfare of his people, hee had caused Cleargie men and others to bee arrested, and held in prison by vndue proceeding, contrary to the lawes of* England *(which hee was bound by his oath at his Coronation to obserue)* and against *Magna Charta*, which whosoeuer shall presume to infringe, are to bee by the Prelates (according *to the Bull of Pope* Innocent *the fourth) Excommunicate. So that hereby hee incurred no small danger to his soule, and detriment to his State and honour.* Then hee telleth him, *how hee doubted that if the King proceeded in this manner, he should lose both the hearts of his people and their helpe, in such sort as hee should not be able to prosecute his warre in hand, and thereby giue his enemies heart and occasion to rise against him,*

Iohn Stratford Archbishop of *Canterbury* his Letters to King *Edward*.

to the hazard of his honour and the kingdome. And therefore aduises him to assemble the Nobles and prudent men of the Land, and to consult with them (without whose ayde and counsell hee could not gouerne his kingdome, or performe his enterprises) concerning what was amisse. And whereas, said hee, *certaine neere about you by their adulation and soothing, falsly betray and deceiue you, wee here denounce them Excommunicate, and beseech you as your spirituall Father, that you holde them so.* Besides, hee vrges him, that *whereas through the negligence of some Ministers of his, the Citie of* Turney *was not gotten, the matter might bee examined in Parlement, and inquiry made, to whose hands, from the beginning of the warre, the Wooles and Monies were committed to bee bestowed, and by whose default the Citie of* Turney *was not subdued, but left in such manner as it was: and that as an equall and wise Lord hee would chastise such as were culpable, and not condemne or misdeeme his subiects without sufficient tryall, &c.* This Letter bare date the 1. of Ianuary.

Then writes hee also to *Robert Bouser* Chancelor of *England*, shewing him what contributions the Cleargie had yeelded to the King by their free consents, & that none other were to be exacted of them. Requiring him to doe nothing preiudiciall to the *Law* of *Magna Charta; and that if any Writ, Commission, or Precept had gone out of the* Chancerie *contrary thereunto, or the priuiledges and liberties of the Church or Kingdome, hee should within ten dayes after the receipt of these his Letters (as hee said the Chancelor was bound to doe) reuoke and anull the same.* This bare date the 28. of Ianuary.

Another Letter hee likewise sends to the King and his whole Councell, declaring that *whereas contrarie to the priuiledges and liberties of the Church and Kingdome contained in* Magna Charta, Iohn de Saint Paul, Michael de *Wath*, Robert Chickwill, Iohn Thorpe, *and* Henry Stratford, *were arrested, committed to prison, and there detayned without being indited, or conuicted of any notorious crime, and that whosoeuer were aydinge or councelling to this proceeding had incurred the sentence of the Canon, which he had caused to be published both in his owne Dioces, and in all other of his suffragans. And therefore besought the King and his whole Councell, without delay to deliuer the saide prisoners, otherwise (hee plainely writes) that according to his Pastrall charge, hee must proceed to the execution of the sentence. Concluding how notwithstanding it was not his intention to include therin the King, Queene, or their children, so farre as they might by law be excused.*

Quatenus de iure poterunt excusari.

To this purpose hee likewise sends to the Bishop of *London* and other his Suffragan Bishops, whom after hauing complained of the great exactions and wrongs done to the Church by lay men) hee charged him not onely to denounce and publish in their Church, but fixe vp in all eminent places the sentence of Excommunication, against all offenders in those articles of *Magna Charta*: which are at large added to his Letter, to the end (as he sayd) that euery man might know the danger, and none pretend to be ignorant thereof.

Vid. Append.

The King wakened with this clamour of the Archbishop, is faine to apologize for himselfe, by his Letters written to the Bishop of *London*, wherein, after hauing declared how much hee had euer honoured and trusted the Archbishop, he accuses him of manifest wrong, for that *relying vpon his counsayle, he was put at first vpon this action against the French King, and by him assured hee should not want treasure and meanes for the performance thereof, and that hee needed not to care but onely to prouide men to execute the worke. And how notwithstanding, through the negligence or malice of the saide Archbishop and his Officialls, those prouisions granted him by his subiects in Parlement, were in so slender proportion leuied, and with such delayes sent ouer, as hee was prest of necessity (to his great griefe and shame) to condiscend to the late Truce, and through extreame wants (charged with mighty debts) forced to throwe himselfe into the gulph of the vsurers; in such sort, as hauing iust cause, hee began to looke into the dealings of his Officers: some of whom vpon apparant notice of their ill administration of Iustice, their corruptions and oppression of his subiects, he remoued from their places, and some of inferiour degree culpable of the same offences, hee committed to prison, and there detained them, to the ende hee might finde out by their examinations, the truth of their proceedings, whereof none could so well informe him as the Archbishop, to whom of long time, hee had committed the whole administration of the kingdome. And therefore desirous*

King *Edward* accuses the Archbishop of false dealing.

sirous to conferre with him at London, *hee had of late sent an especiall messenger, his trusty seruant* Nicholas de Cantelupe, *that hee should repaire thither: which the Archbishop refused to doe, alledging how hee stood in feare of some about the King, and therefore would not endanger himselfe, nor depart from his Church. Then the King sent* Ralph Stafford, *the Steward of his house, with safe conduct vnder his great Seale for the Archbishops security. Notwithstanding he refused to come, returning worde how hee would haue no conference with the King but in open Parlement: which at that time (said the King) was not for especiall reasons conuenient to be called. Then aggrauates hee the vndutifull contempt of the Archbishop and his hypocriticall dealing with him: avowing that although by hereditary right, and the diuine grace hee was aduanced to that sublimitie of regall power, hee held it alwaies to haue beene a detestable thing to abuse the greatnesse thereof, and how he affected nothing more in the world, then to gouerne his subiects with mildnesse, clemency, and moderation of Iustice; that hee might with peace enioy their loue. And how notwithstanding the Archbishoppe had most iniuriously (by his Letters published in diuerse parts) torne his innocency, and slandered the faithfull seruice of his Counsailors and Officers, who executed his regall Iustice, exclaiming how the people were oppreſt, the Cleargy confounded, the kingdome agrieued with taxations and all kinde of exactions. Which the King argues was to no other end, but to raise sedition amongst his people, and to withdrawe their loue and obedience from him. Lastly, to giue notice of the Archbishoppes corruption, he declares how, himselfe beeing vnder age, had through his counsell made so many prodigall donations, prohibited alienations, and excessiue gifts, as thereby his treasurie was vtterly exhausted, and his reuenewes diminished, and how the Archbishop corrupted with bribes, remitted without reasonable cause, great summes which were due vnto him, applying to his proper vse, or to persons ill-deseruing many commodities, and reuenewes which should haue beene preserued for his necessary prouisions.* And therefore concluded, *vnlesse hee desisted from this his rebellious obstinacie, hee intended in due time and place more openly to proceede against him: inioyning them to publish all and singular these his malignities, and to cause others to doe the like, for the manifestation of his owne pious and Princely intention, in relieuing his owne and his subiects wrongs.* This Letter was sayd to haue been penned by *Adam* Bishoppe of *Winchester*, and bare date the 12. of February, *An.Reg.*15.

Thus the King and his Officers, whose proceedings must not receiue a check, are cleared, and the imputation rests vpon the Archbishop, who is charged with great accoûts, & pressed by such as lent the King mony, to render the same. But shortly after the King found much to doe in the Parlement held at *London*, being earnestly petitioned by the whole Assembly of the three Estates, that the great *Charter* of Liberties, and the *Charter* of Forrests might be duly obserued, and that whosoeuer of the Kings Officers infringed the same should lose their place: that the high Officers of the kingdome, should as in former times, be elected by Parlement. The King stood stiffe vpon his owne election and prerogatiue, but yet yeelded, (in regard to haue his present turne serued, as himselfe after confessed) these Officers should receiue an oath in Parlement, to doe iustice vnto all men in their offices, and thereupon a Statute was made & confirmed with the Kings Seale; both for that, and many other grants of his to the subiects, which notwithstãding were for the most part presently after reuoked.

*Vid. Stat.*15. *Edward.*3.

The truce agreed on before *Turney* for one yeare, was by the Commissioners of both Kings, and two Cardinalls from the Pope, concluded at *Arras*, which yeelded some cessation of Armes, but not of plotting more mischiefe. *Louys* of *Bauier* (intituled Emperour) is wonne to the party of the French King, becomes his sworne confederate, and reuokes the Vicarshippe of the Empire, formerly confirmed on the K. of *England*, pretending the cause to be for concluding the late truce without him, as appeares by his Letters to King *Edward*, which are againe by him fully and discreetly answered.

The Articles *Vid.Appen.*

The Emperor reuokes the Vicariate, the reason why. *Vid. Append.*

But in steed of this remote and vnconstant confederate (whose power lay without the limits of *France*) Fortune brought in another more neere, and of readier meanes to offend, within the bodie of that kingdome. The inheritance of the Duchy of *Brittaine* is in controuersie betweene *Charles de Blois*, Nephew to King *Phillip*, and *Iohn de Monfort*, vpon this title: *Arthur* Duke of *Brittaine* had by *Beatrix* his first wife, two sonnes, *Iohn* and *Guy*, by *Yoland* Countesse of *Monfort* his second wife

The controuersie for the Duchy of *Brittaine.*

Iohn de Monfort. *Iohn* the eldeſt ſonne of *Arthur* hauing no iſſue, ordayned *Iane* his Neece, daughter to his brother *Guy* (who died before him) to ſucceed him in the Duchy. This *Iane*, *Charles de Blois* marries on condition his iſſue by her ſhould inherite the ſame, wherein after conſummation of the Mariage hee is inueſted, and had homage done vnto him during the life of *Iohn* their Vncle. But after his death, *Iohn de Monfort* claymes the Duchy, comes to *Paris* to do homage for the ſame to the French King. *Charles de Blois* in the right of his wife, oppoſes him, the controuerſie is referred to the Parlement. Sentence paſſes on the ſide of *Charles*. *Monfort* inraged repaires to the King of *England*, doth his homage vnto him for the Duchy, is receiued with great applauſe, and his tirle (howſoeuer held bad at home) is heere made to bee good. Returning back into *Brittaine* both with comfort & meanes, after ſome encoũters with his enemie, hee is taken and committed priſoner to the *Louure* in *Paris*: His wife the Counteſſe of *Monfort* ſiſter to *Louys* Earle of *Flanders* (a Lady who ſeemed to haue more of the man then her brother) proſecutes her husbands quarrell, puts on Armour, leads and incourages her people, ſurpriſes, and defends many ſtrong peeces of *Brittaine*: but in the end, like to be ouerlaide by the power of *Charles de Blois*, ſhe craues ayde of the King of *England*, and hath it ſent, vnder the conduct of the Lord *Walter de Manny*, which relieued her for the preſent, but the future required more: whereof King *Edward* was not ſparing; in regard of his owne deſignes, for aydes are ſeldome ſent to forrainers but for the Senders benefit. The Lady her ſelfe comes ouer into *England* to treate both for ſupplyes and alliance, tendring a match betweene her ſonne and a daughter of King *Edward*. The Earles *Salisbury*, *Pembrooke*, and *Suffolke*, the Lords *Stafford*, *Spencer*, and *Bourchier*, with *Robert de Artois* Earle of *Richmond*, are ſent with great forces backe with the Lady. Many were the incounters, ſurpriſes, and recouerings of Fortes betweene the Engliſh and the French; and in this action *Robert de Artois* receiued his laſt wound, at the ſiege of *Vannes*, but yet was brought to die in *England*, it being not in his Fate, that his countrie (which by his meanes had ſuffered ſo much affliction) ſhould haue his bones, though it had his blood, which he loſt with little honour, though with much valour, leauing behinde him but the fame of a Rebell, after hee had ſerued the Engliſh about ſix yeares.

Monfort doth homage for the Duke of *Brittaine* to King *Edward*.

Monfort taken priſoner. His wife proſecutes her husbands quarrell.

Forces ſent ouer into *Brittaine*.

The death of *Robert de Artois*.

King *Edward* ſhortly after theſe ſupplyes ſent into *Brittaine*, goes himſelfe in perſon with more, and lying before *Vannes* (lately recouered by the French) *Iohn* Duke of *Normandy* eldeſt ſonne to the French King, ſent to ayde *Charles de Bloys*, with an Army of forty thouſand, came to giue him battaile, and being vpon the point of incountet, a mediation of truce is made by two Cardinalls, ſent from Pope *Clement* the ſixt, and concluded for three yeares, vpon many conditions, with a reference to the Pope, and the Court of *Rome*, to heare and examine the differences betwixt the two kingdoms, but not to determine them without the conſent of both Kings. This pauſe againe giues them more time to worke for greater woundes, and nothing is left vnpractiſed that might aduance the ſame. And though the people now ſeemed to put off their Armour, they left not off armes, but had diuerſe bickrings, both in *Brittaine* and *Gaſcony*, for which either ſide accuſed other.

King *Edward* returning, makes an expeditiõ into *Scotland* againſt K. *Dauid*, whom he chaſed into the Ilands: And here the *Iſle* of *Man* is conquered by *William Montacut* Earle of *Salisbury*, whom king *Edward* cauſed to be ſtiled King thereof, and returning backe, ſolemne Turneaments are held at *Dunſtable*, where hee is attended with 230. Knights. For now all the paſtime, and exerciſe in *England* were Iuſtes and Turneaments held in *Smithfield*, *Winſor*, and other places. A ſociety of Knights of the Round table, in imitation of King *Arthur*, is deſigned, & a magnificent Chamber of 200. foot round, erected for the ſame at *Winſor*, and to this ſociety many ſtrangers of other Coũtries are allured. The French K. alſo practiſes the like martial aſſociation in *France*.

Reg. 17 *An.* 1343. The inſtitutiõ of the Order of the Garter.

And about this time began the order of the *Garter*, inſtituted at *Winſor* vpon a ſolemne feaſt there celebrated (which held for many dayes) and ſerued that time as an Embleme of a tye and combinement in honour of ſuch as were admitted thereunto, which was the end of the conſtitution thereof: Howſoeuer the Garter of the Counteſſe

tesse of *Salisbury*, taken vp by the King in dancing with her, was saide to haue beene the occasion. But it were some derogation to that noble institution, to impute the originall thereof to an act of Leuitie, seeing with what a graue and religious ceremony it is performed. Although, we see oftentimes, accidents of little consequence giue beginnings to things of great estimation, which time makes venerable.

But besides these exercises of Armes, this great and prouident King, during this truce, takes especiall care for the Gouernment of the Kingdome, and reformation of the abuses thereof, which daily grow as diseases in full bodies, and must of necessity haue sometimes their cure, otherwise there will be no health in a State. A Parliament is called at *Westminster*, wherein vpon the grieuous complaint exhibited by the Earles, Barons, Knights and Burgesses against the collation of Benifices on strangers, a letter was sent to Pope *Clement* 6. in humble manner beseeching him to consider *how inconuenient, and derogatory it was to the State of the Kingdome of* England, *that such reseruations, prouisions, and collations, of Benifices as had beene formerly vsed, should in such sort be continued. For that the Churches of* England *had in times past bene indowed, by noble and worthy persons: to the end the people might be instructed by such as were of their owne language: and how by the vsurpation of some of his Predicessors, strangers, and sometimes enemies to the Realme, were preferred to many of them, whereby the money and profits were transported, the Cures vnfurnished, almes and Hospitality vnused, the edifices ruinated, the charity and deuotion of the people deminished, and many other grieuous inormities, contrary to the will of the Founders, occasioned: which they could not suffer any longer, and therefore besought his Holinesse wholly to reuoke such reseruations, prouisions and collations, that meete and native persons might exercise those Cures, and without delay to signifie his intention therein, otherwise they meant to imploy their dilligence, that remedy and redresse might be had according to reason.* The date of these Letters was in full Parliament at *Westminster* the 28. of May 1343, with which were likewise sent the Kings letters to the same effect, by Sir *Iohn Shordich*, a graue person and of great vnderstanding in the Law; whose message made him so vnwelcome to that Court, as hee departed without leaue, or answer, which though the Pope afterward sent: yet the King proceeded to the prohibition of all such prouisions & collations within his Realme, on paine of imprisonment, or death to whom soeuer should in time to come present or admit any such person or persons, who by the Pope were so preferred to the preiudice of the Kings royall prerogatiue. And to this effect were Writs directed to all Arch-bishops, Bishops, & others to whom it appertained, inhibiting them in no wise to attempt any thing preiudial to this ordinance.

The Nobility write to the Pope concerning his collation of Benifices in *England*.

Sir *Iohn Shordich* sent with these Letters.

Here is the Arch-bishop *Stratford* with much adoe vpon his submission reconciled to the Kings fauour. And much debating there is in this Parliament concerning Wools and the asseasement of certaine prices vpon the same, more or lesse, according to the seuerall parts of the Realme: and concerning customes to be imposed on them, as at three Markes and a halfe vpon the transportation of euery sacke; but it seemes nothing was done in this businesse.

The Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* reconciled.

Prince *Edward* about the age of 13 is created Prince of *Wales*, and Commissioners are appointed to be sent to the Pope to treate of Peace betweene the two Kings, according to the Articles concluded in the truce, which were *Iohn* Bishop of *Excester*, *Henry de Lancaster* Earle of *Derby*, *Hugh le Dispencier* Lord of *Glamorgan*, Cousins to the King, *Rauph* Lord *Stafford* with others.

Prince *Edward* created Prince of *Wales*.

Reg. 18. *An.* 1344. A Parliament.

The next yeare after, another Parliament, or the same proroged, is held at *London*, wherin after much altercation, a tenth was granted by the Clergie, and a fiftenth by the Laytie for one yeate, and a certaine Coyne of gold called the *Floren* of base alloy, which had beene for the warres in *Fraunce*, is decryed, and Nobles of finer coyned, to the great liking of the subiects. And for their better commodity the exchange of moneys at *London*, *Canterbury* and *Yorke* is ordained. Shortly after generall Musters are taken throughout the Kingdom, and Certificate made of all sufficient and able Bowmen, and of all others fit to beare Armes. Besides, a Commission is sent into euery countrey to inquire of mens abilities, and all of fiue pounds to ten of lay Fee, were appointed to finde an Archer on horse-backe, of 25 pounds, a Demilance, and so tatably aboue.

Generall musters and appointing of Armor.

aboue. The King himselfe goes in person to confirme and make the *Flemings* fast vnto him: and at *Sluce*, *Iaques van Arteuile* with other Commissioners from their chiefe Townes, repaire vnto him, where a motion is made, that either *Louys* their Earle should do homage to the King of *England*, or else be disinherited, and *Edward* Prince of *Wales* receiued for their Lord: for which King *Edward* promises to erect their County to a Dukedome. *Arteuile* was forward to entertaine this motion: but the rest of the Commissioners require leaue to acquaint therewith the Townes that sent them, which though they were all desirous to haue the Protection of the King of *England*, yet disliked the disinheriting of their naturall Lord. *Arteuile* notwithstanding vndertakes to induce them vnto it, and returnes to *Gant*, garded with fiue hundreth *Welsh*, which he desired to haue, for that one *Gerrard Denyse* Prouost of the *Weauers* opposed him, and sought his distruction. The people whom he had so often led to muteny against others, now vpon his returne rose against himselfe, and a Cobler with an Axe strake out his braines. And so King *Edward* lost his great Agent, which much displeased him, and disappointed his businesse in those parts. Yet the Townes sent to excuse themselues of this accident, laying the fault on the turbulent *Gantoys*, and in all things vowing their faithfull seruice vnto him: onely to the disinheriting of their Earle they could not consent. But they hoped to perswade him to become his homager, and to procure a match betweene the sonne of their Earle, and his daughter. And thus pacifying his present displeasure, the league is renued betwixt them, and King *Edward* returnes to prosecute his other designes.

But now the warres in *Guien* grew hot, the Earle of *Darby* Generall of the Army, assaults and takes in *Ville-Franche*, *Agenois*, *Angolesme*, *Rions*, Saint *Basile*, with many other Cities and Castles. The French King sends his eldest sonne *Iohn* Duke of *Normandie* to incounter him; who recouers the Cities of *Angolesme*, and *Ville-Franche*, & thus is the sword out before the Truce is expired, the breach wherof, the French King layes on the King of *England*, and hee the same on him, for entertayning King *Dauid*, and setting the *Scots* vpon attempts of inuasion of his Realme. So that it seemes both were prepared to breake, not able to holde their hands any longer from the fatall worke of destruction.

Reg. 20. *Anno.* 1346.

The king goes with a mighty Army into *Normandy*.

It was now the twentith yeare of this mighty and actiue Kings raigne, wherein hee had prepared the greatest Fleet that euer yet crossed the Seas for *France*, and ouer hee passes into *Normandy* in Iuly, leauing for Wardens of *England* in his absence, the Lords *Percy*, and *Neuile*, taking the young Prince with him, about the age of fifteene yeares, to learne him the way of men, and what trauell greatnesse was borne to indure, to attaine glory in this world. His Army consisted of foure thousand men at Armes, and ten thousand Archers, besides *Welch* & *Irish*, which followed on foot; hee had of Earles, *Hereford*, *Northampton*, *Arundell*, *Huntingdon*, *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, and *Oxford*: of Barones, *Mortimer*, (who was after Earle of *Marche*) *Iohn*, *Louys*, and *Roger Beauchamp*, *Cobham*, *Lucy*, *Basset*, *Barkeley*, and *Willoughbie*, with diuerse other, both Knights and gallant Captaines. Hee had of late entertayned *Godfrey de Harcourt*, who had beene as a minion to the French King, and became another *Robert de Artois*, vpon some discontent, or doubt of some discoueries of fauouring the English party in *Brittaine*, for which cause the French King had a little before executed *Oliuer de Clisson*, *Bacon*, *Percy*, *Geffrey de Malestroit*, men of especiall marke, whom hee had there imployed. And now insteed of this *Harecourt* had wonne from King *Edward* the Lord *Iohn de Beaumont*, who had long serued him, was his wiues Vncle, and acquainted with all his courses. Such is the trust of mercinaries, who sell their faith for better entertainement. Neither did this *Harecourt* long hold out, but changed colours, and made his peace with the French King his naturall Lord: but in the meane time did him and his countrie much mischiefe. For vpon King *Edwards* landing with his mighty Army, in the Isle of *Costantine* in *Normandy* by his conduction, hee made him one of his Marshals, and the Earle of *Warwicke* the other. The Earle of *Arundell* is appointed Constable. He diuides his people into three battailes, one to march on his left hand, along the Sea coast; the other on the right, conducted by the two Marshals

Iohn de Beaumont when King *Edward* had made him Earle of *Cambridge*, takes the French Kings part.

Marshals, and himselfe in the midst with his mayne Army. The Earle of *Huntingdon* imployed for Admirall of his Fleete, was to take all the shippes hee found on the Sea coast. The three Armies by land lodged euery night in one field. And first he sackes the City of *Caranton*, slew all hee found armed or disarmed therein, burnes, razes, desolates the Citie, saying hee sacrificed those oblations to *Bacon*, *Percy*, and others (whose heads hee found set vpon the principall gate) vniustly massacred by *Phillip*. Thence hee marches forward, and tooke Saint *Lo*, a rich Towne of marchandise, and pillaged the same. Then after some bickring, became Maister of *Caen*, and put all that countrey into so great terror, as *Falaise*, *Lyseaux*, *Honfleur*, strong walled townes, rendered themselues vnto him. This done hee spread his power in the Isle of *France*, to draw out *Phillip* to the combate, giuing out that hee would wrastle with him in the eye of all *France*, on the great Theater before his capitall Citie of *Paris*.

The manner of King *Ed.* proceeding with his Army.

Phillip this while held not his armes in his bosome, but had ramassed one of the fairest Armies, saith the French History, that euer was seene in *France*, composed of *French*, *Lorraynes*, *Alemaines*, *Genoioys*, which hee led towardes *Meulan*, where King *Edward* was saide to haue made a stand and attended him; but vpon report of his comming on, retyres: it was supposed hee fled for feare, but the euent shewed that the great God of Armies had destined his victory for another place. King *Phillip* followes and ouertakes him at a Village called *Arenes*, a name remarkeable (signifying the *Sand*) to show on what vnstable earth all the trust of humaine forces, and the designes of the great are founded. This mighty Army of King *Phillip*, hauing the aduantage to be at home where all was theirs, made him account the victory certaine. King *Edward* retires to gaine the Riuer of *Some* at *Blanquetaque*, but the passage was to be disputed by the sword. For *Phillip* had before sent thither *Gundemar de Fay*, with a thousand horse, and sixe thousand foot. King *Edward* notwithstanding resolues to passe or perish, and plunges formost into the Riuer, crying out: *They who loue mee will follow mee.* At which voyce all thrust in without dispute, striuing who should be formost, and so presently the shoare gained by the *English*. *Gondomar* astonished with this vnexpected, and bolde aduenture, astonishes his people by his featefull countenance. So that the *English* incountring the *French* all in disorder, fell vpon them and put them to flight. But the retraite was neere to *Abbe-ville* and Saint *Requier*. The losse was not so great as the shame, but serued as a presage for a greater mischiefe to *France*. These disrouted men all affrighted flocke into *Abbe-ville*. Where King *Phillip* inraged with this dishonour, resolues to reuenge it, and presently to prouoke King *Edward* to the combate. The aduise of his Councell was otherwise; to suffer his troupes to repose some few dayes, & recouer their spirits, & King *Edward* to coole and spend his, in the meane while. But hardly had this King the patience to stay in *Abbe-ville* one day, whiles the bridge to passe ouer his Army, was repayring. And with this precipitation and fury, into the field hee marches, eleuated with an assured hope of a triumphant victory.

The French K. prepares to oppose K. *Ed.*

K. *Ed.* goes ouer the riuer of *Some*, defeires the *Fren.*

The French K. resolues to incounter K. *Ed.*

His impatiéce and his hopes.

King *Edward* better tempered, manages his worke with admirable discretion and vigilancy, and had now incamped in a Village called *Crecy*, and there entrenched and fortified himselfe, not onely with the trees of the Forrest about it, but with deepe rampiers, and other defences besides: causing also a Parke to bee paled vnder the woode side behinde his hoste, wherein were placed all the Carts and Carriages. His Army consisted of thirty thousand men, but in order and courage double the number. The vauntgard hee gaue to the Prince, & for guides the Earle of *Warwicke*, *Godfray de Harecourt*, the Lords *Stafford*, *De la ware*, *Bourcheir*, *Clifford*, *Cobham*, *Holland*, Sir *Iohn Chandos*, Sir *Bartholomew Burwash*, Sir *Robert Neuile* with eight hundred men at Armes, and two thousand Archers, besides a thousand other, most of them *Welch men*. The second battaile was committed to the Earles *Arundell*, and *Northampton*, the Lords *Rosse*, *Willoughby*, *Basset*, Saint *Albin*, *Multon*, and others, wherein were eight hundred men at Armes, and twelue hundred Archers. The third battayle the King led himselfe, hauing seuen hundred men at Armes, and two thousand Archers. These Battayles thus ordered, mounted on a white Hobby, hee rode from ranke to ranke

The ordering of K. *Ed.* Army.

ranke to view them, the one Marshall on his right hand, the other on his left, incouraging euery man that day to haue regarde to his right & honour.

The French Kings Army was greater both in lustre and aduantage, composed of aboue sixty thousand combatants well armed, whereof the chiefe were, *Charles* Earle of *Alanson* the Kings brother, *Iohn de Luxembourg* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles de Bloys* the Kings Nephew, *Ralph* Duke of *Lorrayne*, the Earle of *Flanders*, *Neuers*, *Sancerre*, the Dolphin *de Viennois*: of Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen, aboue three thousand: and on the Eue of the battayle *Amè* Earle of *Sauoy* arriued with a thousand men at armes more, which made the French king swell with assurance of the maisterie, so that hee longed to be at the incounter. The Vauntgard hee commits to his brother Conte *d'Alanson*, the Reere to the Earle of *Sauoy*, the mayne battaile he leads himselfe: his heate would scarce permit time for a little counsell what was fit to be done. The olde King of *Bohemia* aduised that the Army should first take some repast, and that the Infanterie consisting of *Genouese* (which were about fifteene thousand crosse-bowes, and sure men) should make the first front, and the Cauallarie to follow, which was agreed on. After their repast the Vauntgard set on, the Conte *d'Alanson*, contrarie to this order, tooke it ill that the *Genouese* were in the first ranke, & in fury caused them to change place, which changed the Seat of the Armie, and wrought that discontent as it irritated them more against the leader then the enemy: besides there fell at the instant a piercing shower of raine, which dissolued their strings & made their bowes vnusefull, and at the breaking vp of the shower, the Sunne shone full in the face of the *French* (dazling their sight) and on the backes of the *English*, as if all made for them.

The ordering of the French Kings Army at the battaile of *Cressy*.

King *Edward* discouers the disorders of the *French*.

King *Edward* who had gotten to a winde-mill hill, beholding as from a Sentinell, with a setled spirit, the countenance of the enemy, and discouering both this accident, and the hurlement made by the change of place, slacks not to take aduantage thereof, and instantly sends to charge that part, without giuing them time to reaccommodate themselues; insomuch as the discouraged *Genouese* recoyle, which the Conte *d'Alanson* perceiuing, and comming on with the horse, in great rage cries out, *On, on, let vs make way vpon the bellies of these Genouese, who doe but hinder vs*: and instantly prickes on with a full carrier through the midst of them, attended with the Earles of *Lorrayne*, *Sauoy*, and the Dolphin *de Viennois*, and neuer takes breath till he came vp to the *English* battayle, where the Prince was, which they found better setled: their horses flanked with troupes of Archers, whose strings hauing not felt the raine, rained such a shower of steele vpon them, as cooled their heate and all disordered them. The French king seeing his brother thus indangered, makes vp to disingage him, whereupon the fight grew hot and doubtfull, insomuch as the Commanders about the Prince, send to King *Edward* to come vp with his power to ayd them: the King demands the messenger, whether his sonne were slaine or hurt: the messenger answered no, but hee was like to bee ouer layd. Well then saide the King, returne, and tell them who sent you, *that so long as my sonne is aliue, they send no more to me what euer happen, for I will that the honour of this day be his*. And so being left to try for themselues, they wrought it out with the sword, and recouered the aduantage, by reason the French king (hauing his horse slaine vnder him and in danger to be troden to death, had hee not beene recouered by the Lord *Iohn Beaumont*, his new Pensioner) was to the great discouragement of his people withdrawn out of the field. Whereof notice being once taken by the *English*, the day was soone after theirs, and the greatest victory they euer had yet against the *French*: and so bloody as there is not mention made of one prisoner taken in the battaile: for they being once put to rout, were all, whom the sword could ouertake, slaughtered out right. Some few troupes that held together, saued themselues by retyring to places neet adioyning. The French king himselfe with a small company got to *Bray* in the night, and in approaching the walles, the Guard, asked *Who goes there*, he answered, *The fortune of France*. His voyce being knowne the gates are opened, and in is hee receiued with the teares and lamentations of his people, whom yet he seekes to comfort all he could. The number of the slaine

King *Edward* obtaines the victory in this great battaile of *Cressy*.

The French King flyes.

slaine on the place are certified to be 30. thousand. The chiefe men were *Charles d'Alanson*, *Iohn* Duke of *Borbone*, *Ralfe* Earle of *Lorraine*, *Louys* Earle of *Flanders*, *Iaques Dauphin de Viennois*, Son to *Imbert* (who after gaue *Dauphine* to the Crowne of *France*) the Earles of *Sancerre*, *Harcourt* (brother to *Geoffry*) and many other Earles, Barons, and gentlemen to the number of 1500. This memorable victorie hapned vpon the Saterday after *Bartholomew day*, being the 26. of *August* 1346. The number of the slaine.

All the Markes of an intire ouerthrowe rested with King *Edward*: the field of the Battaile, the bodies of the slaine, and their spoiles. The occasion of this great defeit (according to humaine coniecture) the *French* attribute to the choller, rashnes and precipitation of their King and his brother, and sure temeritie and presumption haue euer been the ruyne of great Actions, especially in warre.

King *Edward* managed this victorie with as great moderation as he wanne it: and first, hauing imbraced his Sonne, commending his valour shewed that day, he tenders thankes to God after, as he had inuoked his ayde before at the beginning of the Battayle, and earely in the morning, being Sunday, he sent out 300. Lances, and 2000. Archers to discouer what was become of the enemie, who found great Troupes of such as were comming from *Abbe-ville*, St. *Requier*; *Roan*, and *Beauvoys*, (ignorant of what had hapned) led by the Arch-bishop of *Roan* and the Prior of *France*, whom they likewise defeited, and slew 7000. Out Writers report, that of Straglers which were fled from the Battaile, or comming on, (hauing lost their way by reason of a thicke mist which hapned that morning) were slaine many more then in the field the day before, which sheweth vs the wonderfull losse this afflicted Countrie susteined at one fatall blow.

But this was not all the victories that fell to King *Edward* that yeere, there was an other of more importance gotten in *England*, by the Queene and his people at home against the K. of *Scots*; who being set on by the *French* to diuert the warre there, entred vpon this Kingdome with 60. thousand men, as our Writers report, assuring himselfe of successe, in regard (as he supposed) the maine strength thereof was now gone into *France*. But he found the contrary: the Lords of the North, as *Gilbert de Humfrivile*, Earle of *Angos*, *Henry Percie*, *Ralph Nivile*, *William Dayncourt* with the Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, the Bishop of *Durham*, and others of the Clergie, gathered so great force, and so well ordered them by the animation of the Queene (who was there in person) as they vtterly defeited this great Armie; tooke *Dauid* their King prisoner, with the Earles of *Fife*, *Menteth*, *Murry*, *Sutherland*, the Lord *Douglas*; the Arch-bishop of Saint *Andrewes* and others, and put to the sword 15. thousand *Scots*. This Victorie fell likewise vpon a Saterday, and sixe weekes after that of *Cressie*. And as if all concurred to make this yeere tryumphant, The aydes sent to the Countesse of *Monfert* in *Brittaine*, lead by Sir *Thomas Dagworth*, ouerthrew and tooke prisoner, *Charles de Blois*, pretender to that Duchie, and with him *Monsieur la Val*, the Lords *Rochford*, *Beaumanoyr*, *Loyacq*, with many other Barons, Knights and Esquires: there were slaine in the incountet the Lord *De la Val* (father of him which was taken) Vicont *Rohan*, *Monsieur de Chasteau Brian*, *de Malestroit*, *de Quintin*, *de Direval*, great Lords, besides many other worthy men at Armes, Knights and Esquires, to the number of about 700. Thus all fell before the Sword of *England*.

King *Dauid* ouerthrowne and taken prisoner.

Charles de Bloys taken prisoner.

Now King *Edward*, without medling with the great Cities, *Amiens*, and *Abbeville*, which were both neere, marches on directly and sets downe before *Calais*, a Towne of more importance for *England*, and the gate to all the rest: wherein *Iohn de Vienne* Marshal of *France*, and the Lord *d'Andreghen*, a great man in his time, commanded. All that Winter King *Edward* hauing sheltered his people as in another Towne, furnished with all prouisions, lay without any molestation of the *French* King, who this while was likewise besieged with the affliction of his owne state. Misfortune is euer held a great fault, both in mightie men and meane, and opens the mouthes of those whose hearts are peruerse. The people of *France* were in extreame pouertie, yet notwithstanding the necessitie of the Kings affaytes must constraine fresh supplyes. The ill managing the publique treasure, the falshood of the *Financiers*, the decrying of

King *Edward* besiegeth *Calais*.

of Moneys, the deminiſhing of trafficke, augmentation of impoſtes, Subſidies, Gabels, &c. were the cauſes of this publicke murmur, and put the people in diſpaire, ſeeing no end of the troubles wherein their King was dayly more and more ingaged. And now was no way to helpe him, but by an aſſembly of the States. Wherein the Financiers, Receiuers and managers of monies are called to render an account, and the treaſure committed to the diſpoſing of the Cleargy and the Nobles, to take away ſuſpition in the people of ill dealing. Foure Biſhops, two Abbots, and foure Knights are choſen for that buſineſſe. *Pierre des Eſſars*, Treaſurer of *France*, is committed to priſon, condemned in a great Fine to the King. Other Officers and accountants reſtore at once, what they were long in gathering. The *Banquiers*, *Lombards*, and other vſurers, are put to the preſſe for their vnlawfull exactions: the Intreſts are proued to exceed the Principall, which is confiſcate to the King, and the Intreſt giuen to the Debtors. Courſes, wherewith indigent Kings in expenſiue times vſe to ſerue their turnes, and pleaſe their oppreſſed people. Which I haue the rather noted, though it lye without our circle, to ſhew that other Kings likewiſe layd hand vpon what they could faſten, as well as ours haue done, and made benefite of mens offences: onely this of the Vſurer is new to vs, but yet like to that practiſed heretofore vpon the *Iewes*, and might ſerue a turne with as much content to the people, and as faire a ſhew of a iuſt correction as theirs did, the nature of the Extortors being alike.

The State of *France*.

Ayded with this meanes, and the ready ſeruice of his Nobles and ableſt ſubiects, the French king, in the Spring, hath an Army in the field, approaches *Callais*, but findes no way open to come to relieue it. The King of *England* was both Maiſter of the Hauen, and poſſeſt all other wayes whatſoeuer were paſſable, and had the *Flemings* his friends, who with a huge Army had beſieged *Ayre*, and did much miſchiefe on the confines of *France*. To oppoſe them, is *Iohn* Duke of *Normandy*, the Prince, ſent for out of *Guien*, who being no ſooner remoued from thence, but *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, Earle of *Derby* became maſter of the field (hauing an Army conſiſting of twelue hundred men at armes, two thouſand Archers, and three thouſand other foot, *Engliſh* and *Gaſcoines*) takes in moſt of the Townes of *Taintonge*, and *Poictou*, in the end beſieged and ſacked *Poytiers*, and ſo returnes to *Burdeaux* with more pillage then his people could well beare. Thus the *French* ſuffer euery where. Their King, not being able to approach to grapple with the king of *England*, ſends to ſolicite him to appoint ſome place of battaile, and hee would incounter him. King *Edward* returnes anſwere; *If hee would make his owne way to come thither vnto him, there hee ſhould finde him: for, from thence hee would not part, hauing there layne ſo long, to his great labour and charge, and being now ſo neere the point of gaining the place.* The two Cardinals ſent from the Pope, labour to mediate a peace, and Commiſſioners on either ſide meete to treate: but nothing could bee effected. So that the French King was forced to breake vp his Armie and retire to *Paris*, leauing *Callais*, and the defendants vnrelieued, to the mercy of the Beſieger, which when they vnderſtood, they ſent to deſire Parle, had it granted, and therein receiued this finall ſentence: that ſixe of the chiefe Burgeſſes ſhould be ſent to the King bare-headed, bare-footed, in their ſhirts, with halters about their necks, the keyes of the Towne and Caſtle in their hands, and ſubmit themſelues to the Kings will: for the reſidue hee was content to take to mercy. This ſentence intimated to the miſerable townſmen, they all in lamentable manner looking each on other, who ſhould bee choſen for this ſacrifice, one amongſt the reſt ſtands vp, and boldly ſpake to his effect. *Fellow citizens, for mine owne part I that haue ſo often expoſed my life, in this long ſiege for my Countrie (and haue beene euery day to die) am now moſt willing to ſacrifice the ſame for my laſt oblation thereunto, and will cheerefully carry my head to the victory of the King of* England, *not deſiring to ſuruiue the perdition of my miſerable Countrie.* Which free and reſolute ſpeech ſo wrought with this amazed people, as now they ſtriue who ſhould bee one of the ſix; and cryed, *Let vs goe, let vs goe vnto death, it is the laſt duty wee ought to render to our native ſoyle.* Six are preſently choſen, and ſent according to the ſentence, preſenting themſelues on their knees to the King, and beſeeching him to ſhew mercy

Conditions for the rendering of *Callis*

mercy vnto them. The King commands them instantly to be carryed to their execution, and would not (although great supplication was made for them by his Counsel) be diuerted; in regard as he said of his oath: till the Queene, great with Childe, fell on her knees before him, and with teares obtained their pardon, and had them giuen vnto her: which done she caused them to be clothed, gaue them their dinner, and sixe nobles a man, appointing them to be safely conuayed out of the Armie, and set at libertie. An Act worthy of so great a Queene, and the greater by this her deed of mercie. The King though in this he were sterne, yet was he more sparing of blood than his Grand-father *Edward* 1. and had more of Compassion; as shewed an Act in this Seige. When victuals within the Towne began to faile, and all vnusefull persons, as olde, men, women, and children put out of the gates, hee forced them not backe againe which hee might haue done, the sonner to consume their store, but suffered them to passe thorow his Armie, gaue them to eate, and two pence a peece to euery one,

The Queene obtaines pardon for the Burgesses of *Calais*.

King *Edwards* Clemencie.

And thus was that strong Towne of *Callais* the thirde of *August* 1347. gotten, after almost an yeeres siege with infinite cost and labour: all the inhabitants are turned out, and sent away to seeke newe dwellings; a Colonie of the *English* planted therein, and so it remained in the possession of the Crowne of *England*, 210. yeeres after. And now this tryumphant King hauing made truce for some few moneths, and taken order for the safe-keeping of his hard gotten prize, returnes with his Queene, the Prince, and his people into *England*, to make Holy-day, and inioy the benefite of their booties brought home out of *France*, which are said to be so great as euery house had some part, and the wiues of *England*, now flourish with the stuffe and ornaments of those of *France*, who in the meane time lament their losses: and heere is nothing but Feasts, and Tryumphes throughout the Kingdome. And to adde to this glorie, the Princes *Electors* send to signifie, that they had chosen King *Edward*, King of the *Romans*: which great dignitie, notwithstanding he refused, being it seemed out of his way, or cumbersome to deale withall.

The Conquest of the Towne of *Calais*.

King *Edward* returnes into *England*.

King *Edward* refuseth the Election of King of the *Romans*.

But before that yeare ended, this great iollitie, heere in *England* turned to the saddest mourning that could be possible. The invisible Sword of Heauen makes such a rauage vpon Mankinde, as had not been knowne before. A contagious Pestilence arisseth in the East and South parts of the Worlde, that dispreads it selfe ouer all Christendom. And in *England* they write that it tooke away more then the halfe of men: as if the Diuine prouidence seeing them thus violently bent to destroy and massacre one another, would lessen their numbers for their fieldes, and take to it selfe the vengeance of blood-shed in his terrible maner. Churchyards could not heere suffice to burie the dead, new grounds are purchased for that purpose. It is noted there dyed in *London*, betweene the first of *Ianuary* and the first of *Iuly* 57374. persons. Other Cities and Townes suffered the like, according to their portions. All which calamitie notwithstanding, could not deterre those egar Princes frō prosecuting their quarel, nor yet so vnfurnish their fieldes but that they found still fresh hands for blood-shed, as shewed their many conflicts shortly after. But yet it gaue some pawse, till the feruour of the contagion asswaged, which was also attended with a miserable famine, murraine of Cattle, and sterrilitie of the earth, caused through the indisposition of the Heauens, and want of culture.

The *French* Pestilence.

Anno Reg. 23.

The first Action after this, was the Kings going ouer to *Calais*, vpon an information of a practise to surprise the Towne, contriued by the *French*, which was thus. *Monsieur de Charmy*, Gouernour of Saint *Omers*, had dealt with *Americo de Pauia*, whom King *Edward* had left Captaine of the Castle of *Callais*, offring him 20. thousand Crownes to be receiued into the Castle: *Americo* accepts the offer, and appoints a night for the businesse. In which night (by aduertisement from *Americo*) King *Edward* arriues with 300. men at Armes, and 600. Archers. *Monsieur Charmy* sets out likewise the same night from Saint *Omers* with his Forces, and sent 100. armed men before with the Crowns to *Americo*, and to possesse the Castle. The men are let in at a Posterne Gate, the Crownes receiued, and themselues layd in hold. Which done the

King *Edward* goes ouer to *Calais*.

The *French* circumuented in their practise.

the gates of the Towne are opened, and out marches the King before day, to encounter *Monsieur de Charny*, comming on with his forces, who perceiuing himselfe betrayed, put his people to the best defence hee could, and the king of *England* to a hard bickring; who, for that hee would not bee knowne there in person, put himselfe and the Prince, vnder the colours of the Lord *Walter Manny*, and was twice beaten downe on his knees, by *Monsieur de Riboumont*, a hardy Knight (with whom hee fought hand to hand) and yet recouered, and in the end tooke *Riboumont* prisoner. *Charny* was likewise taken, and all his forces defeited. King *Edward* the night after (which was the first of the new yeare) feasted with the prisoners, and gaue *Riboumont* in honour of his valour (wherein he honoured his owne) a rich chaplet of Pearle, which himselfe wore on his head (for a New-yeares-gift) forgaue him his ransome, and set him at liberty. The rest pay dearely for what they got not, and were well warned how to trafficke in that kinde. Yet the *English* not long after in the like practise had better successe, and got the Castle of *Guisnes* (a peece of great importance neere *Calais*) for a summe of mony giuen to one *Beauconroy* a *French man*. Of which Castle, when the French King demanded restituriou, in regard of the Truce; King *Edward* returnes answer: *That for things bought and sold betweene their people, therein was no exception*, and so held it.

An. 1305. *Reg.*24. The French King dies.

Shortly after, the French king not borne to liue to see any better fortune, dyes, leauing that distressed kingdome to his sonne *Iohn*; who found farre worse. For these fore noted wounds, were but as scratches to that State, compared with those horrible maimes it indured in his, and after in the Raignes of *Charles 6.* and 7. till the sword of *England* was turned home vpon it selfe, to let out the blood of reuenge with as tragicall mischiefes, on the successours of these great actors, who now thus wrought others ruines aboade.

King *Edward* in action at sea against the *Spaniards*.

King *Edward*, the next yeare after, is againe in person with a Fleet on the Sea, to incounter certaine *Spanish* shippes, passing from *Flanders* loaden with cloth and other commodities, whom, after a great fight, and much blood shed on either side, hee tooke with all their substance: for that the *Spaniards* the yeare before, entered the Riuer *Garonne*, and tooke away certaine *English* ships, loaden with wines, and slew all the *English*. His forces in *Guien* were not idle this while, but many conflicts passed betweene the *French* and them; notwithstanding the Truce which was renewed. The warres in *Brittaine* likewise continue, and are hotly maintained betweene the two Ladies, the widdow of *Monfort*, and the wife of *Charles de Bloys* (whose husband remaynes prisoner in *England*) eager defenders of eithers pretended right.

Alterations of moneys.

Diuerse ouertures of peace had beene made by Legates, sent from the Pope, and Commissioners often met, to the great expence of both Kings, but nothing could be cōcluded, (the winner & the loser seldom agreeing vpon cōditions, in regard the one wil haue more then the other is willing to yeeld vnto) & so temporary Truces (which were but slenderly obserued) are onely taken to winne time. These actions not only consumed our men, but the treasure of the kingdome. The warre, though inuasiue, could not maintayne it selfe. The monyes here are altred, and abated in weight, and yet made to passe according to the former value. Before this time there were none other peeces but Nobles and halfe Nobles, with the small peeces of siluer called sterlings: but now grotes of foure-pence, and halfe grotes of two pence, equiuolent to the sterling money, are coined, which inhansed the prices of things, that rise or fall according to the plenty or scarcity of Coine. Which made seruants & labourers to raise their wages accordingly. Whereupon a Satute was made in the Parliament, now held at *Westminster*, to reduce the same to the accustomed rate which was giuen before the late great Mortality. This caused much murmuring amongst them, imputing the cause thereof to *William Edington* Bishop of *Winchester*, the Kings Treasurer, whom they held to be the Author of the abatement of the Coyne.

A Parlement. *Anno Reg.*27.

The King conceiuing displeasure against the *Flemmings*, for being disappointed of the Match betweene a Daughter of his, and their yong Earle *Louys* (who was escaped

ped into *France*, and bestowed on a daughter of the Duke of *Brabant*) with-drawes the Mart or Staple of Woolls from their Townes, greatly inriched thereby, and caused the same to be kept at *Westminster*, *Chichester*, *Canterbury*, *Lincolne*, *Warwick*, *Yorke*, *New-castle*, *Excester*, *Carmarden*, *Bristoll*, and *Hull*. Holding it fitter to aduance his owne Townes then Strangers, by the commodities of the Kingdome. And here are prouident Ordinances enacted, for the gouerning and ordering this Staple. The Staple established in *England*.

An Act is also made in this Parliament, that all Weares, Milles, and other stoppages of Riuers, hindring the passages of Boates, Lighters, and other Vessels should be remooued. An Act most commodious to the Kingdom, but it tooke little effect, saith my Authour, by reason of bribing and corrupting Lords, and great men, who regarded more their owne, then the publike benefite: A mischiefe fatall to all good Ordinances; and yet is it an honor to that time, that so behoufull an Act was ordained. For, this easie conuaying and passing of Commodities from place to place, to impart the same more generally, would (no doubt) be an infinite benefit to this State: And seeing God hath made vs Riuers proper for the same, it is our negligence, or sloth if we marre them, or make them not vsefull in that kinde, as other Nations doe with farre lesser Streames. *Walsinham.*

There is mentioned also an Act to bee made, at the instance of the *Londoners*, that no common Whore should weare any Hood; except rayed, or striped with diuers colours, nor Furres, but garments reuersed, the wrong side outward: wherein they did well to set a deformed marke vpon foulenesse, to make it appeare the more odious. *Stow.*

After this Parliament, *Henry* Earle of *Derby*, is created Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Ralfe* Lord *Stafford*, Earle of *Stafford*; and heere *Charles de Bloys*, a long Prisoner in *England*, agreed for his Ransom, which was 40. thousand *Florins*, and was permitted to returne into *Britagne* to prouide the same. Great mediation is made by the *Pope* to accord the two Kings, and Commissioners meet on both sides, to treate and conclude a Peace. The chiefe Article in deliberation, was; *That the King of* England *should enioy all the Lands of his Duchy of* Aquitaine, *without holding the same by resort or homage of the Crowne of* France; *and in consideration thereof, should resigne all his Clayme and Title to that Kingdom.* And this was in a manner then fully agreed on, yet in the end broken off by the *French* (*Alledging, they could not alienate any thing from the Bodie of that Crowne*) *to their farther confusion and mischiefe, hauing beene better to haue spared a formall Ceremonie appertaining to a part, then to haue had the whole so miserably rent and torne in pieces as it was.* And yet in the end were they faine to make their agreement vpon the same very Article, at the Treatie of *Britigny*. The Earle of *Derby* created Duke of *Lancaster*. Treatie of Peace.

Anno Reg.27.

But now the Commissioners returning without effecting any thing, the King of *England* grew so displeased, as hee would not hearken to any further prorogation of Truce, though it were instantly vrg'd by two *Cardinals*, sent from *Auignion* by *Pope Clement* the 6. (who being a *French-man* borne, laboured much for the peace of his Countrey) and preparation is made for fresh wars. The Prince of *Wales*, now grown a man, is appointed by Parliament to goe into *Gascoigne* with 1000. men at Armes, 2000. Archers, and a great number of *Welshmen*, and in *Iune* following, sets foorth with 300. Sayle; attended with the Earles of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisburie*, and *Oxford*, the Lord *Chandos*, the Lord *Iames Audley*, Sir *Robert Knoles*, Sir *Franke de Hall*, with many others.

About *Michelmas* following, the King himselfe passes ouer to *Calais* with another Armie, taking with him two of his Sonnes, *Lionel* of *Antwarpe*, now Earle of *Vlster*, (by the right of his wife, *Elizabeth* Daughter and Heire to *William Brugh*;) And *Iohn* of *Gant*, Earle of *Richmont*. There met him at *Calais*, of Mercinaries out of *Germanie*, *Flanders*, and *Brabant*, a thousand men at Armes. So that his Armie consisted of three thousand men of Armes, and two thousand Archers on horse-backe; besides Archers on foot. The Citie of *London* sent 300. men at Armes, and 500. Archers all in one Liuerie, at their owne charge. But all this great Powre effected nothing at that time, the French king would not be drawne to any incounter: both in regard of the potency of his enemy, and some turbulencies happening amongst his owne people, but King *Edward* passes with an Armie into *France*. Returnes without doing any thing.

but he so disfurnishes the countrie (where the *English* were to passe) of all prouisios to sustaine them, as the King of *England* was forced to returne.

The distemperatures of *France* that this time diseased it, grew from the violent humors of *Charles* King of *Nauarre*, who had married *Iane* the French kings daughter, a Prince of a stirring spirit, subtile, haughty, and presuming vpon his great Estate, and high blood, being the sonne of *Louys* Conte *d'Eureux* and *Iane* daughter to king *Louys Hutin*, which *Iane* was put by the inheritance of the Crowne of *France* by *Phillip le Long* her Vncle, in regarde of their *Salicque Law*: and by him preferred to be Queene of *Nauarre*, in whose right this *Charles* her sonne, bare both the title and stare of that kingdome, with many other great inheritances: all which could not yet content him, but holding himselfe wronged that hee had not also the Counties of *Champagne* and *Bry*, which appertained to his mother by the same right as did the kingdome of *Nauarre*, enters into violent courses. And (daring not to complaine directly of the King) hee falles vpon the Constable of *France*, as chiefe of his Councell, and one of whom hee was iealous, in regarde of the Kings perticuliar fauour vnto him, and in the end caused him to be murdered in his bed at *L'Aigle* in *Normandy*, rushing himselfe vp into his Chamber, accompanied with his brother *Phillip* of *Nauarre*, two of the *Harecourts*, and diuerse other of his owne retinue. After the deed done, hee retyres to his owne Citie of *Eureux*, and iustifies the act to be lawfull.

The King of *Nauerre*, disturbes the *French* King.

The French King, though extreamely stung herewith, yet was faine to temporise, and promises the king of *Nauarre*, if hee would come and craue pardon, he should haue it. Whereupon hee appeares at *Paris* before the Councell, to render reason for his act, is condemned, as guilty of treason (notwithstanding the Kings promise) & committed prisoner. Three Queenes are earnest sutors for him, his mother (the old Queene of *Nauarre*) his sister (the widdow of the late King *Phillip de Valois*) and his owne wife daughter to the French King. His release is obtayned, and away hee goes with the rancour of this wound (which had beene better not giuen, vnlesse it had beene home) offers his seruice to the King of *England* (who knew well how to make vse of such a powerfull member) and withall surprises certaine peeces in *Normandy*, practising all hee could to withdraw the peoples affections, and aydes from their King, when hee had most need of them. These insolencies, notwithstanding the French king is faine to endure and dissemble, vntill hee might againe take him vpon some aduantage: to vse force, hee saw was dangerous, both in regarde of his party, and the time. An occasion at length fell out, whereon he seazes. *Charles* his eldest sonne being lately inuested in the Duchy of *Normandy*, is visited by all the great men in the Countrey, amongst whom as chiefe comes the King of *Nauarre*, and is royally feasted at *Roan*. Whereof the French king hauing notice, sers out of *Paris* sodenly, takes him at dinner with his sonne, and without farther processe causes foure of the principall which massacred the Constable, to bee presently executed: of which, two were the *Harecourts* brethren: and withall sends away *Nauarre* vnder sure guard to *Arras*, and his chiefest seruants to diuerse prisons.

The *French* King commits the King of *Nauarre* prisoner.

The Duke of *Lancaster* sent into *Normandy* to ayde the King of *Nauarres* brother, and others.

This sudden execution, though it gaue a present amazement, yet it wakened the partisans of *Nauarre*, and especially *Phillip* his brother, who with *Geoffrey Harecourt* (Vncle to the two brethren) post ouer into *England*, exclayming against this violent murther, inuoking King *Edward*, in a case of so notorious iniustice, to ayde them: offering their harts, their goods, their townes and hauens, to let him into *Normandy*. The occasion is intertayned, the Duke of *Lancaster* is sent ouer with foure thousand men at Armes, and by the assistance of this great party, winnes many strong Townes.

Anno D. 1335. *Reg.* 29.

Fifty shillings granted by Parliament of euery sacke of wooll, for sixe yeares.

King *Edward* to be furnished for so great actions, hath by Parliament granted vnto him fifty shillings vpon euery sacke of wooll, for sixe yeares next ensuing: by which imposition it was thought, (say our Histories) the King might dispend a thousand markes sterling, a day. Such vent of wools were there in that time. And presently after the Parliament, in winter (to shew that hee was for all weathers) he goes

goes with an Armie to recouer *Barwicke*, which had beene surprised by the *Scottes*, whilst he was last at *Calais*; and heere hath he not onely his Towne, but the whole Kingdome of *Scotland* resigned vnto him, by *Edward Baliol*, who held himselfe King therof by the best Title, but not best regarged: For King *Alexander* (though now Prisoner in *England*) had the most powrefull Partie there: & so both were Kings to their seuerall sides that held them so: a misetable distraction to that poore Kingdom. And euery where dwelt affliction but in *England*, and here was nothing but Tryumphes, Vanquishings, and Recouerings in all parts.

Edward Baliol resignes the Kingdome of *Scotland* to King *Edward*, reseruing to himself a pension.

The *Prince* enters *Guien*, passes ouer *Longuedoc* to *Tholouse*, *Narbonne*, *Burges*, without any encounter in the field; sacks, spoyles, destroyes where hee goes, and loaden with bootie returnes to *Burdeaux*.

Anno Reg.30. 1336.

The *French* King thus assaulted on all sides, gathers what power hee possibly could, and first makes against his enemies in *Normandie*, recouers many of his lost Townes; and was likely to haue there preuailed, but that he was drawne of force to oppose this fresh Inuador, the Prince of *Wales*, who was again abroad, & come vp into *Toureyne*; against whom he brings his whole Armie, causing all the Townes and passages vpon the Riuer *Loyr* to be strongly garded: Whereupon the *Prince*, whose forces were not to encounter those so mightie, was aduised to withdraw again thorow *Toureyne*, and *Poyctou*, towards *Burdeaux*. The *French* King to preuent his course followes, and within two Leagues of *Poyctiers* hath him at a great aduantage. Two *Cardinalls* at that instant came from the *Pope* to mediate a peace. The *French* King supposing he had his Enemie now in his mercie, would accept of none other conditions, but that the *Prince* should deliuer him foure Hostages, and as vanquished, render himselfe and his Armie to his discretion.

The *French* King hath the Prince of *Wales* at an aduantage.

The *Prince* was content to restore vnto him what hee had gayned vpon him, but without preiudice of his honour; wherein he sayd: *Hee stood accomptable to his Father, and his Conntry.* So the *Legates* perswasions (though earnestly vrged) could preuaile nothing vpon the *French* Kings obstinacie: who presuming of victorie (in regard his Armie was fixe to one) would instantly (as loath to loose time to loose himselfe) set vpon the *Prince*: who reduced to this Straight, takes what aduantage he could of the ground, and prouidently got the benefit of Vines, Shrubs and Bushes, on that part he was like to be assayled, to impester and intangle the *French* Horse, which hee sawe were to come furiously vpon him. The successe answered his expectation, for behold the Cauallarie of his Enemies vpon their first assault, wrapt and incumbred amongst the Vines, so that his Archers without danger, gall and annoy them at their pleasure.

The Battayle of *Poytiers*, fought the 19. of September. 1336.

For the *French* King to giue the honour of the day to his Cauallarie (whereof hee had caused a choyse to bee selected out of euery companie, to the discontent of the rest) imployed them onely without his *Infantery*: So that they being disordered and put to rout, his whole Armie came to be vtterly defeited.

The errors committed in the Battaile of *Cressie*, could not warne this King to auoyd the like. For had he had the patience to haue tymed it out awhile, the *Prince* could not haue possibly subsisted, being thus inuironed, & shut vp from all succours as he was: and now thus furiously assaulted, and hauing no safetie but what was to be wrought by the Sword (which desperation euer makes the sharper) Hee, and his shewed that admirable courage that day, as purchased them the most memorable glorie that euer any Martiall action did, that was atchiued by the *English* with so fewe handes.

The *French* King taken prisoner.

Here was now the Head of that great Kingdome-claymed, taken Prisoner, with his yongest sonne *Phillip* (who valiantly defending his father, when his other brothers forsooke him, had afterwarde the Title of *Hardie*, and became Duke of *Burgogne*) *Iaques de Borbon*, *Conte de Ponthieu*, the Arch-byshop of *Sens*; *Iohn d'Artoys*, *Conte d'Eu*, *Charles d'Artoys*, his brother *Conte de Longneville*, *Charles Conte de Tancarville*, the *Conts* of *Vendosme*, *Salbourg*, *Dampmartin*, and *La Roche*, with many other Lords of markes besides 2000. Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen; in so much as the Conquerors, holding it not safe to retaine so many, let many of them goe.

The number of Prisoners taken.

The *French*, who can giue best account of their owne losses, report there dyed in the battaile a thousand seauen hundred Gentlemen, amongst which were fifty two *Bannerets*: the most eminent, *Peter de Borbon*, the Duke *d' Athens* Constable of *France*, *Ian de Clermont* Marshall, *Geoffrey de Charny* High Chamberlaine. There escaped from this battayle three of the French Kings sonnes (for hee brought them all thither) *Charles* Prince Dauphin (and the first so intitled) *Lonys* after Duke of *Aniou*, *Iohn* Duke of *Berry*, all great actours in the time following.

The slaine in the battaile.

This blow might seeme to haue beene enough to haue vtterly ouerthrowne that kingdome, and absolutely subdued it to the Crowne of *England*, but that is was a body which consisted of so many strong limbs, had such store of spirits dispersed in seuerall parts, and contayned so wide an extent of state, as all this blood letting could not dissolue it, or make it faint to giue ouer. And sure these powerfull kingdomes, howsoeuer they may be diseased, and suffer, either through the distemperature of their Heads, or distractions of their other parts, can neuer (vnlesse by a generall dissolution) be so low brought, but they will recouer againe in the end: their frame holdes by many nayles, which neuer fayle all together.

The Prince of *Wales* in this battaile, hath a double victory, the one by the sword the other by his Curtesie: first hee visits the captiue King, with all reuerence and regarde of Maiesty, comforts him by examples of the fortunes of warre, and assures him of all faire entertainement according to his dignity. The especiall great men who were actors in this worke must not passe vnremembred, the Earles, *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford*, *Stafford*: the Lords, *Cobham*, *Spencer*, *Barkley*, *Besset*: Of *Gascoignes*, *Le Capital de Beuf*, the Lords *Pumier*, *Chaumont*, and others. And here the Lord *Iames Audley* is renowned both for his valour and bounty, who hauing vowed to bee formost in this fight, performed his word, & sealed it with many wounds: for which the Prince hauing rewarded him with the gift of Fiue hundred markes, Fee-simple in *England*, he presently gaue it to foure of his Esquires, who had with him indured the brunt of the day. Whereupon the Prince demanding, whether hee accepted not his gift, hee answered how these men had deserued the same, as well as himselfe, and had more neede thereof. The Prince pleased with this reply, gaue him fiue hundred markes more in the same kinde. An example of the worthinesse of the time, wherein good deseruings went not vnrewarded.

A memorable act of *Iames* Lord *Audley*.

All things prouidently accommodated after the battaile, the Prince with his prisoners first retyres to *Burdeaux*, and thence passes with great glory into *England*, now the Theatre of triumph. The French king is lodged at the *Sauoy*, then a goodly pallace of *Henry* Duke of ~~*Lancaster*. Many~~ prisoners vpon reasonable ransome, and many vpon the French kings word (vndertaking for them) are deliuered and sent home honorably. *Dauid* King of *Scots*, who had remayned prisoner eleuen yeares in *England*, is shortly ~~after, by the earnest~~ solicitation of *Ioan* his wife, sister to King *Edward*, set likewise at liberty for the ransome of a hundred thousand markes sterlin, to be paid in ten yeares. The security now had of *France*, gaue way to this Princes liberty.

Anno Reg. 31. 1336.

Aboue foure yeares the French King remayned prisoner in *England*, in which time were many ouertures, ~~and~~ great offers made for his deliuery, but nothing effected. *Charles* the Dauphin, who managed that kingdome (during the captiuity of his father) a Prince of great discretion, wrought all meanes possible to bring that factious people to yeeld their contribution, for ransoming their King, but little preuailed. The Parliament there called to consult thereof, rather augments the misery of the State, then prouides remedy. Wherein after the Dauphin had grauely deliuered the desolation and danger they were in, being thus deprived of their Head, and the necessity of recouering and relieuing the same, by their vtmost meanes: There was a choyce required of fifty (to auoid confusion) to bee made out of all the Prouinces, to consult of what was propounded, according to the instructions they should receiue. These fifty, after many meetings, send for the Dauphin to heare their resolution

The state of *France* during their Kings captiuity.

lution, which was much otherwise then hee expected. For instead of ayd and subuention, they require reformation in the State. And first, the Bishop of *Laon*, chosen their Speaker, besought him to keepe secret what should be vttered vnto him by the *States*. The yong *Prince* answers: *That it were much preiudiciall to the degree hee held in the Kingdom, to take Law of his Fathers Subiects*: and therefore commuanded them (by their Allegeance) openly to reueale what they had in their hearts. The Bishop there vpon, declares the euill managing of the Publique Reuenues, demands redresse, and Commissioners appointed to call such as were answerable, to yeeld their Accounts: *That all who had managed the Treasurie, should bee deposed from their Office; That both the Moneys, and all the affaires of the State, should from thencefoorth be directed by foure Bishops, and twelue Burgesses, whereof the Citie of* Paris *should bee chiefe: and that without this Councell the* Dauphin *should doe nothing*: And in conclusion, they instantly require; *That the King of* Nauarre *might be set at libertie*. On which Conditions they would yeeld any reasonable subuention for redeeming their King.

To these harsh Demands, the *Dauphin* requires time to answer, which he so puts off from day to day, (in hope thereby to separate and dis-vnite their Councels) as the the Deputies, at length, tyred with delay grewe cold, and the Assembly brake vp without doing any thing.

But this left such a poyson as infected the people, and specially those of *Paris*, who shortly after presumptuously demand to haue the King of *Nauarre* deliuered, according to the Decree of the Deputies; and without delay they so wrought with *Pinquigny*, the Gouernour of *Artoys* (who had the keeping of this Fire-brand) as he was deliuered after 19. moneths imprisonment, and comes to *Paris* so accompanied, as shewed both of what Spirit and state he was, and that he meant to take his tyme of revenge. Here is he welcom'd with the applause of the whole Citie, to whom in publique maner with great eloquence, he declares the wrongs hee had receiued; and besides intimates, what right he had to the Crowne of *France*, thereby to imbroyle the affayres of that State, which were already too much in combustion. This put the businesse of redeeming the captiue King quite out of their mindes for that time: and the *Dauphin* is constrained (by an Acte of Abolition) to acquit the King of *Nauarre* and his Complicies, of all former offences. And seeing the peuersnesse of the *Parisians*, goes to solicite other Cities, and Prouinces: trauailing from place to place for ayd and succour, leauing his brother *Phillip*, Duke of *Orleance*, at *Paris*, to keepe them in (the best he could) during his absence.

The King of *Nauarre* set at libertie.

The Prouince of *Languedoc*, is renowned in their Hystories, for being the first that made the largest offer of ayd towards the redemption of their King, in the Assembly of the three States at *Tholouse*, wherein they promised to their Gouernour, the *Conte d'Arminiacq*, not onely to imploy their Reuenue, but their mooueables, and euen to sell their wiues Iewels to raise the same. Besides, to witnesse their publique sortowe, they ordaine, that no costly Apparell, Feasting, Playes, or other iollyties, shoul be vsed within their Prouince, during the time of their Kings captiuitie. *Champagne* by their example doth the like. But nothing could moue the *Parisians* to yeelde any thing. The King of *Nauarre* had wonne them, both from their obedience, and all humanitie, and put them into such flames of rebellion, as when the *Dauphin* came backe to the Citie, the Prouost of Marchants assalted his house with three thousand Artificers in Armes, and rushed himselfe vp into his Chamber with certaine of his traine: wherewith the *Dauphin* being amazed, the Prouost bids him be content, it was resolued it must be so. And presently vpon Signall giuen, *Ian de Couflans*, and *Robert de Cleremont*, Marshalls of *Fraunce*, and his chiefe Counsellors, are slaine in his presence. The *Dauphen* cryes out; *What meane you? Will you set vpon the Blood of* France? *Sir* (sayd the Prouost) *Feare you not, It is not you wee seeke, it is your disloyall seruants, who haue euill counsailed you.* And heere withall hee takes (and puts on) the *Dauphins* hat, edged with gold, and sets his owne, which was partie coloured, Red and Peach-colour (as the Liuerie of the Citie) vpon the *Dauphins* head, & out he goes adorned with the Hat of a Prince, as a signe of his *Dictator-ship*, causing the bodyes of

of these two noble men to bee trayled along the streets to the Court of the Pallace, for all the furious multitude which tan to applaud the murther, to gase on.

This done the Prouost writes in the name of the whole City, to all the great Townes, soliciting them to ioyne with theirs (the principall of the kingdome) and take their Liuery, as the Dauphin had done, for the reformation of the State. Besides, they compose a Councell of themselues, whereof the Bishop of *Laon*, the Primiet President, the Prouost, with some of the Vniuersity, were chiefe, assuming a Soueraigne power to order all affaires of the State, as a Common-wealth. So that wee see in what a miserable confusion that kingdome stood, being without a head, and how apt it was then to shake off all authority, and dissolue the gouernement into parts: shewing vs that it was no new proiect amongst them to Cantonize, as the great Townes and the Princes of late practised to doe, in their leagues during their ciuile combustions.

The Dauphin thus disgraced, with much a doe, gets out of this tumultious City, and retyres into *Champagne*, and at *Vertus* assembles the States of the Countrie, whom hee found loyall, and ready to yeeld him all succour. The rest of the great Townes refusing (with much disdaine) to ioyne with the City of *Paris*, offer him likewise their ayde: So that hee was put into some heart, and likly to effect his desires in short time, had not the King of *Nauarre*, who sought his destruction, still raysed new broyles in the State, and taken Armes against him.

France spoyled by the souldiers and others, on all sides.

Now besides these confusions, greatest mischiefes arose in that miserable kingdome: the poore Paysants that had beene eaten out by the Souldiers, and trodden vnder foote by their Lords, colleague and arme themselues in the Country of *Beauuoysis*, and turne head vpon the Gentry, and such as had done them wrong, spoyling, sacking, burning their houses, killing their wiues and children in most outragious manner. This was not all, troupes of souldiers which had no work or meanes to liue, ioyne together in mighty Companies, ouer-runne and rauage other parts of the kingdome. The forces in *Brittaine* vnder the conduct of Sir *Robert Knoles*, breake out vpon the confining Countries, and returne loaden with inestimable booties of wealth. All which miserable calamities (enough to haue vtterly dissolued a State) prolong the imprisonment of their King in *England*; so that nothing could bee effected for his ransome, which King *Edward* thinkes long till he haue in his Treasury: and vrges likewise for his part, very hard conditions; requiring, say they, besides infinite summes, that King *Iohn* should doe homage, and holde the kingdome of *France* of the Crowne of *England*: which hee with great disdayne refuses, as being not in his power to alien what was vnalienable, vowing that no misery of his, should constrayne him to doe any thing preiudiciall to his successors, to whom hee would leaue the State as hee receiued it. But yet at length offers other, and more large conditions then the *French* were willing to yeeld vnto, which being long in debating, and nothing concluded (after foure yeates expectation) King *Edward* in great displeasure, resolues to make an end of this worke with the sword, and to take possession of the kingdome of *France*. And ouer hee passes to *Calais*, with a Fleete of eleuen hundred Sayle. His Army hee diuides into three battailes, one hee commits to the Prince of *Wales*, another to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the third hee leades himselfe. And first hee marches to the City of *Aras*, which hee takes within three dayes. Thence into *Champagne*, where the Cities of *Sens*, and *Neuers*, are rendered vnto him. The Duchy of *Burgogne* terrified with these examples, redeemes it selfe from spoyle, vpon paying two hundred thousand Florins of gold. Furnished with which treasure, and booties by the way, vp King *Edward* marches to *Paris*, where the Dauphin (who had now the title of Regent, hauing lately ouercome the faction, and executed the principall of the Mutiners) was with great forces (which in the common danger flocked together to defend their Countrie) and would not (by the example of his father and Grand-father) be drawne out to hazard vpon any attempt, but stood onely vpon his defences: which the King of *England* seeing, after many prouocations, raysed his siege, and returnes into *Brittaine* to refresh his Army.

King *Edward* goes to take possession of the kingdome of *France*.

Anno Reg. 34.

In

In the meane time the Regent layes in mighty ſtore of victualls, prouides that the Souldiers ſhould haue enough without preſſing the inhabitants, and with extreame dilligence ſo fortifies the City, as King *Edward* returning with all his refreſhed power, was vtterly diſappoynted of his hopes, to doe any good there. Thus that great Citty which was like to haue endangered the whole kingdome of *France*, was the onely meanes to preſerue it.

From hence King *Edward* takes his way towards *Chartres*, with purpoſe to beſiege that City, but being by an horrible tempeſt of haile, thunder, and lightning, that fell vpon his Army, ſo terrified as hee vowed to make peace with the French King, vpon any reaſonable conditions, as he ſhortly after did, at the treaty of *Britigny* neere *Chartres*, vpon theſe Articles. That the country of *Poitton*, the *Fiefs* of *Thouars*, and *Belleuille*, the Countrie of *Gaſcoigne*, *Agenois*, *Perigort*, *Limoſin*, *Cahors*, *Torbe*, *Bigorre*, *Rouergne*, *Angoulmois* in ſoueraigntie, with the Homages of the Lords within thoſe Territories, *Monſtruel* on the Sea, *Ponthieu*, *Calais*, *Guines*, *La Merk*, *Sangote*, *Boulogne*, *Hames*, *Vales* and *Onis* ſhould bee to the King of *England*: who beſides was to haue three Millions of Scutes of gold: whereof ſixe hundred thouſand preſently in hand, foure hundred thouſand the yeere following, and the Surplus in two yeeres after inſuing, vpon reaſonable payment. The Treatie of Accord concluded at *Britigny*.

And for this, the King of *England*, and his Sonne the Prince of *Wales*, as well for them, as their Succeſſors for euer, ſhould renounce all their right pretended to the Crowne of *France*, the *Duchy* of *Normandie*, the Countryes of *Touraine*, *Anion*, *Maine*, the Soueraigntie and Homage of the Dutchy of *Britagne*, and the Earldome of *Flanders*; and within three weekes King *Iohn* to bee rendred at *Callais*, at the charge of the King of *England*, except the expences of his Houſe. For aſſurance of which Accord ſhould be giuen into his hand Hoſtages: *Louys* Duke of *Anion*, *Iohn* Duke of *Berry* (King *Iohns* ſonnes) *Phillip* Duke of *Orleance* his brother, *Iohn* Duke of *Burgogne*, the *Conts* of *Bloys*, *Alenſon*, *Saint Pol*, *Harcourt*, *Pouctian*, *Valentinois*, *Grand Pre*, *de Brenne des Forrests*, the Lords *Vaudemont*, *Couſcy*, *Pienneu*, *de Saint Venant*, *de Preaux*, *de Momerancy*, *de Garanciecis*, *La Roche guion*, *Eſton-tenille*, *Le Dauphin d'Auergne*, *d'Andrigil*, *de Craon*, ſufficient cautions for the ſayd Summes, and conditions. The *Scots* not to be ayded by the *French* King, nor the *Flemmings* by the *Engliſh*. *Charles* King of *Nauarre*, and his brother *Phillip* are comprehended likewiſe in theſe Articles, &c. *Vid. Append.*

This Treatie of good accord and finall Peace, ſignified by both Kings, was ratified by their two eldeſt Sonnes; *Edward*, and *Charles*: and ſworne vnto by the Nobilitie of both Kingdomes. The Hoſtages are deliuered vnto King *Edward*, who departing from *Honfleur*, brought them into *England*, leauing the Earle of *Warwick* in *France*, to haue a hand in the execution of the Accorde. King *Iohn* is honourably conducted to *Calais*, attending the promiſed Summe, the firſt gage of his libertie. The Citie of *Paris* yeelds one thouſand Royals; by whoſe Example other Cities, contribute according to their proportions. And thus is King *Iohn* deliuered, after hauing remained Priſoner in *England* neere about fiue yeeres. And both Kings depart in kinde manner, with all demonſtrations of brotherly Loue. King *Iohn* deliuered. *Anno Reg.* 35. 1361.

King *Edward* returning with his Crownes, calles a Parliament, wherein, the forme of the Accord was read, and allowed of all the Eſtates, and an Oath taken by the Nobles to obſerue the ſame for their partes. Heere the King reſtorees to the Priors *Aliens*, their Houſes, Lands, Tenements, which he had taken from them, *Anno Reg.* 12. for the maintenance of his *French* Warres: which now being ended, he grants by his Letters Pattents, in as free manner, as before they helde them. A rare Example of a iuſt King, being ſeldome ſeene that Princes let go any thing, whereon they haue once faſtned.

Now againe, was the ioy and glorie that *England* receiued by their gettings, ſeaſoned with the ſowreneſſe of another mortalitie, called *The ſecond Peſtilence*, whereof dyed many Noble men, the chiefe was *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, of the Royall blood, a Prince of great note for wiſedome and valour: who had beene an eſpeciall Actor in all theſe Warres, and a principall Pillar of the Crowne of *England*: The ſecond great Peſtilence.

whose Daughter and Heyre was a little before marryed to *Iohn* of *Gaunt* (by dispensation being neere of consanguinitie) whereby hee is made Duke of *Lancaster*. And shortly after, by the like Dispensation, the Prince of *Wales* marryes the Countesse of *Kent*, Daughter to *Edmond*, brother to *Edward* the second. And so both are prouided of Matches within the Kingdome. The King gines to the Prince of *Wales*, the Duchy of *Aquitaine*, reseruing to himselfe Homage and Fealtie, and shortly after sends him ouer with his wife, and Court to liue there. His sonne *Lionell* Earle *Vlster* is sent into *Ireland*, with a regiment of 1500 men to guard his Eatledome against the *Irish*, and was created Duke of *Clarence* in the next Parliament held at *Westminster* in Nouember, which continued vntill the feast of Saint *Brice*, King *Edwards* Birth-day, and the Fiftith yeare of his age. Wherein for a *Iubilie* hee shewes himselfe extraordinarily gracious to his people, freely pardoning many offences, releasing prisoners reuoking Exiles, &c. And vpon petition of the Commons, causes *Pleas* which before were in *French*, to be made in *English*, that the subiect might vnderstand the Lawe, *by which hee holdes what hee hath, and is to know what hee doth*: A blessed act and worthy so great a King, who if hee could thereby haue rendered the same also perspicuous, it had beene a work of eternall honour: but such is the Fate of Law, that in what language soeuer it speakes, it neuer speakes plaine, but is wrapt vp in such difficulties and mysteries (as all professions of profit are) as it giues more affliction to the people then it doth remedy. Here was also an act passed for Purueiors (as there had beene many before in his time) that nothing should bee taken vp but for ready money, vpon strict punishment. For retribution of which relieuements the Parliament granted sixe and twenty shillings eight pence for tranportation of euery sacke of woole for three yeares. Thus all were pleased, sauing, the remouing of the Saple, from the Townes of *England* to *Calais*, was some grieuance to those whom it concerned. Yet the Kings desire to inrich that Towne, being of his owne acquisition, and now a member of the Crowne of *England*, might herein be well borne withall. And sure this King, the most renowmed for *Valour* and *Goodnesse*, that euer raigned in this kingdome, not onely laboured to aduance the State by enlarging the Dominions thereof, but to make his people as well good as great, by reforming their vices (whereunto fortunate and opulent States are euermore subiect) as may be noted in the next Parliament held at *Westminster Anno Reg.* 37. wherein for the publique Good, certaine Sumptuary lawes, the most necessarie to preuent Ryot (that dissoluing sicknesse, the feuer Hectique of a State) were ordayned both for Apparell & Diet; appointing euery degree of men from the Shepheard to the Prince, the Stuffe & Habits they should weare: prohibiting the adornements of gold and Siluer, Silkes, and rich Furres to all, except eminent persons. Whereby forraine superfluities were shut out, & home-made Cõmodities only vsed. The Labourer and Husbandman is appointed but one meale a day, and what meates he should eate, &c. whereby *Gluttony* & *Drunkennesse*, those hideous euils which haue since vtterly disfashioned & infeebled the *English* Nation, were auoided. So carefull was this frugall King for preseruing the estates of his subiects from Excesse.

Anno Reg. 36.

Vid. Stat.

Vid. Stat.

And as prouident was hee for the ordering of his owne, committing his treasure to the safest Chest that Religion could keepe lockt. For by a certificat *Anno Reg.* 39. sent to Pope *Vrbane*, concerning Pluralities, and the estates of Church-men in *England*, there were found more of the Spirituality which bare office about this King, then any other of Christendome beside. As first *Simon Langham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was Chancelor of *England*, *William Wickham* Archdeacon of *Lincolne*, Keeper of the Priuy Seale: *Dauid Weller*, Parson of *Somersham*, Master of the Rolles: Ten beneficed Priests Ciuilians, Masters of Chancery: *William Mulse* Deane of Saint *Martins le Grand*, Chiefe Chamberlayne of the *Exchecquer*, Receiuer and Keeper of the Kings treasure and Iewels: *William Askby* Archdeacon of *Northampton*, Chancelor of the *Exchecquer*: *William Dighton* Prebendary of Saint *Martins*, Clarke of the Priuy Seale: *Richard Chesterfield* Prebend of Saint *Stephans*, Treasurer of the Kings house: *Henry Snatch* Parson of *Oundall*, Master of the Kings Ward-robe: *Iohn Newnham*

Cleargy men Officers to the King.

Newnham, Parson of *Fenni-stanton*, one of the Chamberlaines of the Exchequer, and keeper of the Kings Treasurie and Iewels: *Iohn Rousbie*, Parson of *Harwick*, Sutueior and Comptroler of the Kings works: *Thomas Britingham* Parson of *Asbie*, Treasurer to the King for the parts of *Guisnes*, and the Marches of *Calais*: *Iohn Troys* Treasurer of *Ireland* a Priest, and beneficed there. These men, being without those Feminine Ginnes of attraction and consumption, deuoted onely to Sanctitie, were thought then fittest to be husbands for his profit.

Shortly after, three Kings came to visite the King of *England*; The King of *France*, the King of *Scots*, and the King of *Cypres*: The occasions that mooued the *French* king might be diuers, but it seems the especial were to free some Hostages that remained heere, and to cleare such imputations as were had of him, for not obseruing in all points the late Accorde: wherewith his Nobles were much discontented, and many difficulties arose among them: so that in an Assembly of the States at *Paris*, certaine perticular Lords, whose Homages were passed ouer to the King of *England*, protested against it; *Alledging, how that the King could not dispose of the Soureignetie of the Kingdome, nor alien his Domaine, and therefore they would not obey it.* The *French* King, notwithstanding, least King *Edward* should thinke this but a collusion betweene him and his subiects, publishes his Commandement for the obseruation of the Accord, and thereof certifies King *Edward*. Besides, he had vndertaken a iourney for the *Holy warres*, and desired to settle all things in peace at home, before his going. And this might be the occasion of his comming, and not his loue to the *Conntesse* of *Salisburie*, as is reported. But howsoeuer, this King shewed a strange disposition to returne to the *Gaole*, where he had indured so much affliction, and where shortly after his comming, hee ended his life, much lamented of the King of *England*, who solemnly attended his Corps to *Douer*, whence it was conuayed to Saint *Denys*, and entombed with his Ancestors.

The death of King *Iohn* of *France*.

An. 1364.

Reg. 38.

The debate for the Duchie of *Britaigne*, is about this time determined, by the death of *Charles de Bloys* slaine in a Battaile neere *Vannes*, by *Iohn de Monfort*, and the *English* Forces, led by the Lord *Latimer*, Sir *Iohn Chandos*, and Sir *Hugh Cauerley*. *Iohn de Monfort* marries *Mary* Daughter to King *Edward*, and by his consent, doth his homage for the Duchie, to *Charles* (now King of *France*) compounding with the widdow of *Charles de Bloys* for a summe of money, and some estate in land.

The businesse of Britayne accomdated for a time.

And heere we haue some time of rest, which the Souldier whom the warre had bred, could not well brooke. The cast Companies in *France*, though they had no Head, yet had strong Bodies, and did much mischiefe in many parts of that Kingdom, till they were imployed in the Wares of *Spaine*, which fell out shortly after. A Company of them passed ouer into *Italie*, vnder the conduct of Sir *Iohn Haucut*, a great Warriour, who found such entertainement with the Princes there (where hee reuiued Militarie discipline, that had layne long vnused among them) and got such honour and estate by his valour, as his fame remaines to this day, and his *Statue* amongst their memorable Princes for action and vertue, though hee went but a *Taylor* out of this Kingdome, which in those dayes could haue furnished the whole world with Leaders, and expert Militarie men.

The *Italians* call him *Iohannos de Acuto*.

And now heere haue we brought this mightie King to the Fortieth yeere of his Raigne, which had it beene his last, wee had left him the most glorious and tryumphant Prince in the world, to whom *Fortune* neuer yet shewed her back, neuer was retrograd. But now these last ten yeeres present vs with a turning of the Beame, a declination from that height of glory, with certaine blemishes that age and frailtie brought vpon him. This new King of *France*, *Charles* the fift, Intituled *The wise*, recouered great aduantages vpon him, having in the life time of his Father strugled so with affliction (a better Mistresse of wisedome then prosperitie) and learned so well to know a Crowne before he had it, as now hee manages the same with great temperance and vigilancie: and finding the preseruation of that State consisted more in counsell then force (which had beene too aduenturously imployed by his Father and Grand-father) he workes his fortune by lying still, hauing excellent aydes and

Anno Reg. 40.

and ministers to execute his designes, and labour for him: of whom for his warres, *Guesclin* a *Brittaine* whom hee made Constable of *France*, was of especiall note, and first shewed the way how that State was to be recouered.

Anno Reg.41. 1367.

The Prince of *Wales* aides the King of *Castile*.

The Prince of *Wales* remayning in his Duchy of *Aquitayne*, with a great Court, which required great expences, and many military attendants, without worke, is solicited by *Peter* King of *Castile*, chased out of his kingdome by his bastard brother *Henry*, to ayde him to recouer the same: which the Prince vpon great promises of remuneration, vndertakes by the consent of his father. The cause was better then the person. For this *Peter* sonne to *Alphonso* 11. King of *Castile*, had cõmitted so tyrannicall outrages, as were intollerable to his subiects, oppressing and destroying his Nobles to inrich himselfe, putting away, and after murthering his wife (which was daughter to *Peter* Duke of *Burbon*, & sister to the now Queen of *France*) by the instigation of his Concubine *Maria de Padilla*, whom he afterwards married. Whereupon the State adhering to his brother *Henry* (who though he were a bastard by his birth was more Legittimate by his vertues then hee, who was more a bastard by his vices) crowned him King of *Spaine* at *Bargos*, and forced *Peter* to fly the kingdome. This *Peter thus* reiected, the Prince of *Wales*, with an Army of thirty thousand, attended by his brother *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, and many Lords of *England*, goes to re-inuest in his kingdome. *Henry* is ayded by the *French*, and those floting companies fore-remembred, led by *Guesclin* Constable, and *Dandrehen* Marshall of *France*; hauing besides of Castilians, Christians, and Sarasins so many, as his Army consisted of neere an hundred thousand men. Vpon the borders of *Castile* it came to a Battayle, the Prince of *Wales* hath the victory: *Henry* is put to flight, the *French* Leaders taken prisoners, and *Peter* put into his Throne againe at *Bargos*.

The Prince obtaines the victory in *Spaine*.

The worke done, reward for the same is required by the Prince, which *Peter* could not, or cared not to prouide, but staruing him with delayes, inforced him in the end to returne to *Burdeaux*, without mony to pay his Army, & which was worse without health, which he neuer after recouered. This successe had this vnfortunate action, vndertaken to right an vngratefull Tyrant, who afterwarde notwithstanding, was againe dispossessed, taken, and put to death, by his brother *Henry*. It is written, that to strengthen himselfe, hee combined with a Prince of the *Sarazins*, married his daughter, and renounced the Christian faith: but it is commonly the reward of euill princes to be made worse then they are.

The il successe of that iourny.

The Prince of *Wales* returning thus out of *Spaine*, charged with more debts then before, and destitute of meanes to content his people, fals vpon another misfortune (as commonly men in these declinations, seeking remedies increase maladies) imposing a new taxation vpon the *Gascoignes*, of Feuage, or Chymney mony, so discontented the people, as they exclaime against the gouernment of the *English*, and appeale to the King and Court of *France* for redresse. The King of *France*, at the instance of the great Lords and others, who were turned ouer by the accord to hold of the Crowne of *England*, sends a Gentleman to the Prince of *Wales* at *Burdeaux* with sommons to answere before him and his Court at *Paris*, to these complaints.

Anno Reg.43. 1369.

Now had the Lords of *Arminiaque*, *D'Albert*, *Peregort*, *Cominges*, and many others, made their protestations against the King of *England*, for the Crowne of *France*, which, they say, *they were by nature to obey, and not to a strange Soueraigne: that it was absolutely against the Fundamentall Law of the Kingdome, to disseuer them from the Crowne: that the Contract was made in prison, and therefore inciuile, and not to be held by the right of Nations*. So that they were resolued to spend their lines and estates, rather then bee vnder the gouernment of *England*. By their example the Cities of the County of *Ponthieu* rendered themselues to *Guy* Conte de Saint *Poll*, and *Guy de Chastillon*.

The Emperor *Charles* 4. makes a iourny into *France* to reconcile the two Kings.

The King of *England* complaines of this breach of accord to the Pope, and the Emperour *Charles* 4. who made a iourney into *France* to reconcile the two Kings, and determine the businesse. Before whom our Ambassadours first declare *how this*

Accord

Accord, hauing beene more for the good of France *then vs, in regard we resigned thereby, not onely our Title to* Normandie, Touraine, *and* Aniou, *the fairest and richest Countreys of* France: *But also our Title to the Crowne, to the end we might hold in Souraigntie the Duchy of* Aquitayne, *the Country of* Ponthieu, *with some other peeces, which by Hereditary right appertained to the Crowne of* England, *whereby the effusion of Christian blood was stayed,* France *had peace, and their King restored in faire manner, after a faire imprsonment, and vpon the most resonable Conditions could bee deuised: Notwithstanding the* French *King, (who himselfe, with the whole Councell of* France *contracted the Accord, and solemnly swore to obserue the same) hath contrary to the Law of God and Nations (after he had recouered his Hostages by fraud) seazed both vpon the Duchy* of Aquitayne, *and the Country of* Ponthieu, *without denouncing Warre, by his Heraldes, &c.*

The allegations of the *English* Ambassadours before the *Emperour.*

Vid. Appen.

The *French* Reply: *How we by the Accord, were bound immediately to with-draw our Army out of* France; *which they say wee did not, during all the Reigne of their King* Iohn: *That the Peace was thereby made more offensiue then the Warre, they being constrained to purchase the departure of our Souldiers with greater charge then would haue maintained an Armie. That the breach was on our side, for that the Souldiers were ours. That King* Edward *was bound to renounce his Title to the Crowne of* France, *in open Assembly of the States of both Realmes, which they say was not done. And concerning the releasing of their King: they say, it cost* France *more gold, then the redeeming of Saint* Louys *their King, his brother, the Peeres, and the whole Armie, taken by the* Soldan, *an Infidell.* Thus both sides defend their cause, being easie for Princes who will breake out of their Couenants to finde euasions. The *French* King (it seems) though willing to get in what he could, yet was very loath to renue a Warre, and therefore with many Presents courts the King of *England*: Who seeing himselfe thus deluded, prepares to haue out his Sword. And hauing borowed great Summes of the Clergie, sends ouer *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Humphry Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, with a mightie Armie to *Calais*, to inuade *France* on this side; whiles the Prince of *Wales* works to recouer the reuolted Townes on the other. But little was effected, The Duke shortly returnes. And then *Thomas Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwicke*, with fresh supplyes is sent ouer, who dyes in the iourney. Sir *Robert Knoles* a man renowned in those times for valour and counsaile, is made Leader of an Armie, consisting of many great Lords, who disdayning to bee commanded by him whom they helde their inferiour, ouer-threw themselues, and the Action.

The French Reply of the *French.*

Anno Reg. 44.

Forces sent into *France.*

Thus all went backe, and the *French* King growes both in State and Alliance. *Margueret*, sole daughter and Heire to *Louys* Earle of *Flanders*, to whom King *Edward* sought to match his sonne *Edmond*, is wonne to marrie *Phillip Le Hardy* Duke of *Burgogne*, brother to the *French* King. And this much vexes King *Edward*, who the better to furnish himselfe for reuenge, calles a Parliament at *Westminster*, wherein he resumes his claime to the Crowne of *France*, and requires ayd of his Subiects, and hath it. The Clergie graunted him, 50. thousand poundes, to be payd the same yeere; and the Laitie as much. For the leuying whereof, euery Parish in *England* was rated first to pay 23. shillings foure pence (the great helping the lesse) vpon supposition there had beene Parishes ynough to haue made vp that summe. But by certificate vpon the Kings Writs sent out to examine what number of Parish Churches were in euery Shire, they found it came short: and then rated euery Parish at fiue pound sixteene shillings (the greater to helpe the lesse) and so, of 8600. Parishes, found to be in the 37. Shieres, 50. thousand, 181. pound, 8. peence was raised. But in regard of the great pouertie of *Suffolk* and *Deuon-shire*, the 181. pound was abated, and the King answered 50. thousand pounds for the Laytie.

Anno Reg. 45.

A Subsidie granted by Parliament, & the maner of seyzing the same.

Vpon this Supply the King grants that the great Charter, and the Charter of *Forrests*, should bee obserued in all points: which in most Parliaments of his, is euer the first Act; as may be seene in the printed Statutes. And now *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Edmond* Earle of *Cambridge*, are sent with Forces into *Aquitayne*, to ayde the Prince of *Wales*, who after he had sacked the Citie of *Limoges*, that was reuolted, his health failing to performe any more, leaues the prosecution of the Warre to

The Duke of *Lancaster* sent into *Aquitaine.*

The Prince of *Wales* returnes into *England*.

to his brother: and with his wife, and young sonne *Richard* borne at *Burdeaux*, returnes home into *England*, and here resignes vnto his father the Duchy of *Aquitayne*.

The Duke of *Lancaster*, after the departure of the Prince, did little, but being now a widdower (his wife dying two yeares before, in the third great Pestilence, in which yeare also *Phillippe* wife to King *Edward* ended her life) hee marries *Constance* eldest daughter to *Peter* King of *Castile*, by whom hee had the empty title of King, and was (after the death of his father-in-law) stiled King of *Castile* and *Leon*. This *Constance*, though shee were the daughter of a wicked father and infamous mother, yet was so happy, that the daughter shee had by this Duke of *Lancaster*, named *Katherine*, became after Queene of *Castile* and *Leon*, (being married to *Henry* 3. in possession before, and in her right King of both those Realmes) and left her posterity Kings of *Spaine*. *Edmond* Earle of *Cambridge*, married also at the same time *Isabell* the youngest daughter of King *Peter*, and both shortly after returned into *England*, though without victory, yet with wiues. *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*, a little before, marries *Violanta*, the Duke of *Millaines* daughter in *Italy*, where they feasted him so as shortly after he died.

The Duke of *Lancaster* marries *Constance* daughter to the King of *Castile*.

*Anno Reg.*46. 1372.

The Earle of *Pembrooke* taken prisoner by the *Spaniards*.

The City of *Rochell*, that yet held out for the *English*, had indured a long siege both by Sea and land, to relieue which important peece, the Earle of *Pembroke* is sent with forty shippes well manned and victualled, and besides furnished with twenty thousand markes to defrey the voyage, who incountring the *Spanish* Armado sent to ayde the *French* in this siege (by *Henry* now King of *Castile*) after a long and cruell conflict, is taken prisoner, and his Nauy vtterly destroyed. King *Edward* himselfe, though now aged, sets forth, with a mighty Army to recouer these losses, but thereby lost more, the windes with his fortune beeing against him, beat him backe, hauing spent in this preparation Nine hundred thousand markes.

*Anno Reg.*47. D. 1373.

Shortly after, *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, passes ouer againe to *Calais* with another Army, which hee leads through *France*, by the way of *Auergne*, where amongst the mountaines he lost many of his people for want of victuals, and almost all his horse, so that hee came to *Burdeaux* with a starued and distressed company, which after some time hee relieues and made certaine attempts vpon the enemy, but effected nothing, the date of victories was out, all went ill with the *English*. The Duke returnes the next yeare, and all *Gascoigne* reuolts except *Burdeaux* and *Bayon*.

Another Subsidie granted by Parliamét.

King *Edward* hath another supply by Parliament, a Tenth of the Cleargy, and a Fifteenth of the Laytie, towardes these warres: which now are sought to be ended by treaty, an vnlikely way to doe any good. Two yeares are spent therein, at *Burges* and other places, with great charge of Commissioners, and much debate. The *French* hauing now the aduantage of the time, would make their owne conditions, they require the Towne of *Calais* (from whence King *Edward* had now remoued his Staple, in regard of the danger of Marchants goods) and restitution of great summes of money, which were not to bee yeelded: So that nothing but temporary Truces were to be gotten to serue present shifts, wherein the *English*, and their party, had euer the worse.

*Anno Reg.*50. 1376.

A Parliament at *Westminster* which was called the good Parliament.

The Duke of *Lancaster* with others banished the Court.

And here at home, besides the sicknesse of the Prince (which grew desperate) the State is diseased, the Kings age is misled, his treasure exhausted, and his affaires ill managed. A Parliament to cure these euils, is called at *Westminster*, the Kings wants are opened, and supplyes required: the whole body of the Assembly, weary to beare these continuall burthens, in steed of Contributions, exhibit Complaints, charging the Kings Officers with fraude, and humbly craue that the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lord *Latimer*, then Lord Chamberlayne, Dame *Alice Peirce*, the Kings Concubine, and one Sir *Richard Sturry*, might be amoued from Court. Their Complaints and desires are so vehemently vrged by their Speaker, Sir *Peter de La Mare*, as the King rather then not to be supplyed, gaue way vnto them, and all these persons are presently put from Court. The Prince was held to fauour their proceeding, for there seemes to bee no good correspondence betweene him and his brother the Duke of *Lancaster*, who now managed all vnder his aged father, and whose ambi-

tion

tion might bee dangerous to his yong Sonne *Richard*, whom he was like to leaue to his mercie.

The King in this Parliament, being the Fiftieth yeere of his raigne, to gratifie his Subiects, grants another generall Pardon, as another *Iubile*; wherein onely *William Wicham*, Bishop of *Winchester* is excepted, being lately by the procurement of the Duke of *Lancaster* fallen into the Kings displeasure, and forbidden to come to the Parliament. But this *Iubile* was soone turned to sorrow, by the death of the Prince of *Wales* which happened in this Parliament time. A heauy losse to the State, being a Prince of whom we neuer heard any ill, neuer receiued other note then of goodnes, and the noblest performances, thar Magnanimitie and Wisedome could euer shew: insomuch, as what praise can bee giuen to Verrue, is due vnto him. His death changed the face of affayres. The late excluded parties returne to Court, and their former places. This Parliament, called *the good Parliament*, now wrought ill effects. Sr *Peter de la Mare*, at the suite of *Alice Peirce*, an impudent woman (working vpon the Kings impotencies) is committed to perpetuall imprisonment at *Nottingham*. An acte without example of former times, and did no good in this, especially being wrought by such a Subiect. This woman presuming vpon the Kings fauour, whom she had subdued, grew so insolent (the common euill of such fortunes) that she intermedled with Courtes of Iustice and other Offices, where she her selfe would sit to effect her desires: which, though in all who are so exalted, are euer excessiue, yet in a woman most immoderate, as hauing lesse of discretion, and more of greedinesse.

The Duke of *Lancaster* is come now to haue the Regencie, and to manage all the affayres of the Kingdom, and might thereby presume farther. But King *Edward*, to preuent the mischiefes, which by disordering the succession might grow in the Kingdome, prouidently setled the same in this Parliament, vpon *Richard* of *Burdeaux*, creating him first Earle of *Chester* and *Corne-wall*, and then Prince of *Wales*; which made much for his present safetie, least *Iohn* of *Lancaster* should supplant him, as Earle *Iohn* did his Nephew *Arthur*, in the like case. For (sure it seemes) the Duke had his designe that way bent: but this confirmation by the Parliament (which hee had offended) and shortly after a breach with the Citizens of *London*, put him so by, as he durst not now attempt that which his Sonne after effected. But yet he behaues himselfe very imperiously in this state he had. And first shews his authoritie on the Earle of *March*, commanding him ouer to the guarding of *Calais*, and the parts there about. Which the Earle refuses, and rather yeelds vp his Rodde, with the Office of *Marshall*, then obey his commandement therein. The Duke takes the Rodde, and giues it with the Office, to Sir *Henry Percie*, a man most inward with him.

Shortly after, the Parliament is assembled againe at *Westminster* (whether a new; or the last prorogued I know not) and thither, the Duke himselfe brings Prince *Richard* (of the age of 11. yeeres) places him in the Kings Sear, and taught him to demaund a Subsidie. Which was two Tenths, to be payd in one yeere: Or twelue pence in the pound of all Marchandizes sold, for one yeere; and one pound of siluer for euery Knights Fee; and of euery Fire-house one penie. And this Demaund the Duke earnestly vrges, Saying, one of them ought of necessitie to be granted, in regard the Enemie proclayming Warre, purposed to inuade the Realme.

The Knights of the Parliament (whom the Duke they sayd, had by practise made, and put by all of the last Assembly, except twelue which he could not alter) require respite to answere: a day is appointed. The maior part make choyce of one *Hungerford*, a Creature of the Dukes to deliuer their answere. The other would haue Sir *Peter De la Mare* to be inlarged, and deliuer theirs; and also answere to what could be obiected against him, before the Lords in Parliament, and thereto submit himselfe. Then the Duke demaunds ayd of the Bishops. They refuse to treate therein, without their Brother, the Bishop of *Winchester*, prohibited from comming to the Parliament.

Now there fell out an Accident, that besides gaue interruption to this businesse. A certaine Divine, named *Iohn Wicliff*, depriued by the Arch-bishop of *Canterbuie* of a

Another Iubile.

The death of the Prince of *Wales.*

The Duke of *Lancaster* returnes with the rest, to the Court.

The reuenge and behauiour of *Alice Pierce.*

The Duke of *Lancaster* gouerns all.

Richard of *Burdeaux* created Prince of *Wales.*

The Earle of *March* resigns his Office of Marshall, which is giuen to Sir *Henry Percie.*

Iohn Sow.

The Prince motions a Subsidie in diuers kinds.

The Parliament diuided.

A diſſention about *Iohn Wicliffe.*

His doctrine.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* fauours *Wicliffe* and why.

The conuention of *Wicliffe* before the Biſhops in *Pauls.*

The Citizens of *London* take their Biſhops part.

The Citizens in vprore.

benefice in *Oxford*, which hee was found vniuſtly to holde, had heretofore, being diſcontented (the humour that commonly breeds Scisme) inueighed in his Sermons, and other actes in the Schooles againſt the abuſes of Church-men, Monkes and other religious orders (which were not then ſo free from ſcandall, but might well be taxed) and had by his doctrine there, and in *London* wonne many Diſciples vnto him (who after were called Lollards) profeſsing poverty, going bare-footed, and poorely clad in ruſſet, which made them (as extreames are) the more noted, and get paſſage into the opinion of the people, apt to imbrace nouelties, and vſually beguiled by diſguiſes, in regarde they rather *believe* then *iudge.* Amongſt other his Doctrines, he taught that neither King or other Secular Lord, could giue any thing in *Perpetuitie* vnto Church-men, and that Temporall Lords if they neede, might lawfully take the goods of ſuch religious perſons to relieue them in their neceſsities, by the example of *William Rufus*, &c. A doctrine very pleaſing to great men, who commonly imbrace Sects, either for ambition to get, or for iealoufie not to loſe, or for hatred to reuenge.

This man, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and Sir *Henry Percy*, much fauour and cheriſhe, extolling him both for his learning and integrity of life, which made him ſo farre preſume, as hee daily in one Church or other publiſhed his opinions without feare: whereupon at length hee is cited to anſwere before the Archbiſhop, the Biſhop of *London* and others, in *Paules.* At the day appointed, the Duke of *Lancaſter* and the Lord Marſhall goe to conduct him: by the way hee is animated by his followers not to feare the Biſhops, and entring into *Paules*, the preſſe is ſo great, as hardly any paſſage could be made, whereupon the Marſhall vſing ſome violence, thruſt in vpon the people, which *Courtney*, Biſhop of *London* prohibited him to doe, ſaying: *If he had knowne he would haue behaued himſelfe ſo in that place; hee ſhould not haue come into the Church.* The Duke hearing theſe wordes, angerly replyed, *That the Marſhall ſhould execute his authority, whether hee would or not.* When they were come to our Ladies Chappell, the Duke and Barons, with the Biſhops, ſitting downe, *Iohn Wicliffe* (ſent for in by the Lord Marſhall) was by him likewiſe willed to ſit downe, in regard hee ſayd, the man had much to anſwere, and needed a conuenient ſeat. The Biſhop of *London* tolde him, it was againſt all law and reaſon, that hee who was there cited before his Ordinary, ſhould ſit: hereupon contumelious wordes aroſe betweene the Lord Marſhall and the Biſhop, the Duke takes the Marſhals part, and ſharply reprehended the Biſhop, the Biſhop returnes the like to the Duke, who in great rage, ſeeing hee could not preuayle, ſwore *hee would pull downe the pride of him, and all the Biſhops of England. You truſt, ſayd hee, in your Parents, but they can profit you nothing. I truſt not in my Parents* ſaid the Biſhop, *nor in any man liuing, but in God in whom I ought to truſt.* The Duke, as if whiſpering in his eare, tolde him, *hee had rather pull him out of the Church by the hayre of the head, then ſuffer theſe indignities:* which wordes the *Londoners* ouer-hearing, ſwore with a lowde voyce, *they would rather loſe their liues, then ſuffer their Biſhop to bee thus iniuriouſly vſed, and threatened to bee pulled out off his owne Church.* Their fury was the more incenſed againſt the Duke, for that the day before in the Parliament (whereof hee was preſident) it was required in the Kings name, that from thence forth there ſhould bee no more a Mayor of *London*, but a Captaine appoynted for the gouernment of the City, and that the Lord Marſhall of *England* ſhould arreſt offenders within the Liberties, as in other places.

About this buſineſſe, and this wrong offered to their Biſhop, the Citizens aſſembling the morrow after, to conſult amongſt themſelues, it happened the Lord *Fitzwater*, and *Guido Brian*, came into the City, which the people ſeeing, furiouſly ranne vpon them, and were like to beate them downe for comming vnſent for, at that time. The Lord *Fitzwater* proteſted hee came for no other end, but to offer his ſeruice to the City, being by inheritance their Standard-bearer, and was to take iniuries offered to them, as to himſelfe, and therefore willed them to looke to their defence. Whereupon they preſently take Armes, aſſayle the Marſhals Inne, breake open the gates, brought forth a priſoner in his Gyues, and let him at liberty, but found

not

not the Lord Marshall, who with the Duke that day were to dine with one *Iohn de Ypres*, Thence this furious multitude ran to assayle the *Sauoy*, which a Knight of the Dukes seeing, hastes to the place where his Master dyned, and acquaintes him with this vp-roare in the Citie. The Duke leaps from the Table so hastily, that hee hurt both his shinnes in the Fourme, and with Sir *Henry Percie*, alone takes boat, and away he gets to *Kennington*, neere *Lambeth*, where the Princesse with the yong Prince lay; to whom he complaines of this Ryor, and the violence offered him. In the meane time the multitude comming to the *Sauoy*, a Priest inquisitiue to know the busines, was answered, *They went to take the* Duke *and the* Lord Marshall, *and compell them, to deliuer* Sir Peter de la Mare, *vniustly detained in Prison.* The Priest replyed; *That* Sir Peter *was à Traitour to the* King, *and worthy to be hanged*, At which words they all cryed out; *This is* Percie, *this is the Traytour of* England, *his speach bewrayes him though his Apparell be disguised*: and presently they ran vpon him, and wounded him to death.

The Duke of *Lancaster* in danger flees to the Princesse.

The Bishop of *London* hearing of this Out-rage, leaues his dinner, hastes to the *Sauoy*, admonishes them *to be mindefull of the Holy time, (being Lent) and for the loue of* Christ *to desist from such seditious acts; assuring them, all thing should be fairely ended for the good of the Citie.* Whereupon they were something pacified, and forbare to assault the Dukes house, whose person (if they could haue found) they had (no doubt) made an end of him, and the Lord Marshall in this their furie, at that time; but missing him, they yet hung vp his Armes reuersed, in signe of Treason in all the principall streetes of the Citie.

The Bishop of *London* appeases the tumult.

The Princesse from *Kenington*, sent *Albert de Vere*, *Louys Clifford*, and *Simon Burleygh* to the Citizens, perswading them to make their peace with the Duke. They returned this answere, *That for her Honour they would doe what soeuer shee commanded*: but yet inioyned the Knights, to will the Duke, *to permit the Bishop of* Winchester, *and* Peter de la Mare *to come to their Answere, according to the custome of the Lawes of* England. They sent likewise of the chiefe Citizens to the sicke *King*, to excuse them of this Tumult, protesting *themselues not to be priuy thereunto, but sought all meanes to suppresse the same, which they could not doe (the whole Communaltie being in Commotion) vpon an Information, that their Liberties should be taken away from them by Parliament.* The *King* tolde them, *It neuer was in his thought to infringe their Liberties, but he rather desired to enlarge them.* And therefore willed them not to feare, but returne to appease the Citizens, and keepe them in peace and order: which they did, and were well pleased with this answere. But yet they could not stop the passage of Rimes and Libels (those secret stings that wound vnseene) but that they were dayly spread in the Citie to the defamation of the Duke, and to make his name odious to the people. For which, he procured the Bishops to excommunicate the Authors of all such Rimes, and Libels.

The Citizens send to the King.

Notwithstanding, this harsh proceeding of the Duke with the State; and in a time so vnseasonable, both for his owne Ends and the Publique businesse he vndertooke; The Commons in Parliament, desirous to ayd their King, granted a Subsidie on this condition, that being leauied, it should be committed to certaine *Earles* and *Barons* to see it yssued, according to the occasions of the Kingdom. But this Subsidie was of a new nature neither in any of those kindes propounded. Euery person, man & woman within the Kingdome, aboue the Age of 14. yeeres, were to pay 4. pence, (those who liued by Almes onely excepted. The Clergie likewise grants 12. pence of euery Parson Beneficed; and of all other Religious persons 4. pence of the head, A mighty and vnknown Ayd, such as neuer was granted to any King of *England* before, and became a Precedent for the next Reigne: wherein it caused the first and greatest popular Insurrection, that euer was seene in this Kingdom: So tender a thing is it to taxe the people by the Poule.

A Subsidie granted in this Parliament.

And now here-upon the Parliament ended: but not the Dukes displeasure against the Citie. The Maior and Aldermen are brought before the King to *Shene*, and aduised to submit themselues to the Duke, and craue pardon for their grieuous offences. They protest as before: they could not stay the rage of the multitude, who committed those insolencies, beseeching the King not to punish such as were innocent and

 ignorant

ignorant of the fact, promising the Duke, they would indeauour by all meanes to bring in the malefactors, and compell them to make satisfaction, to the honor of the Duke, and more, sayde they, wee cannot doe. Whereupon they were dismissed the Court, and shortly after from their places, by the power of the Duke of *Lancaster*. Sir *Nicholas Brember* was elected Mayor in steed of *Adam Staple*, and other Aldermen appointed in their places, who were put out.

The King was desirous to haue reconciled them to his Sonne, but sicknesse hauing now vanquished him, hee is forced to giue ouer the world, as the same did him, before his breath left him. And first his Concubine packing away what shee could snatch, euen to the rings of his fingers, left him: then his other attendants, by her example, seasing on what they could fasten, shift away, and all his Councellors and others forsooke him in his last agony when most hee needed them, leauing his Chamber quite empty: which a poore Priest in the house seeing, by chance as he passed, approaches to the Kings beds side, and finding him yet breathing, cals vpon him to remember his Sauiour, and to aske mercy for his offences, which none before about him would doe, but euery one putting him still in hope of life, though they knew death was vpon him (a misery fatall to Princes and great persons, whom flattery will neuer suffer to know themselues, nor their owne state either in health or sicknesse) made him neglectiue of those spirituall cogitations fit for a dying Christian. But now stirred vp by the voyce of this Priest, hee shewes all signes of contrition, and his last breath expresses the name of *Iesu*. Thus dyed this mighty and victorious King, at his Mannor of *Sheene* (now *Richmond*) the 21. day of Iune, *Anno Dom.* 1377. in the 64. yeare of his Age, hauing raigned fifty yeares, foure moneths and odde dayes.

The death of King *Edward* and the maner thereof.

His Character wee finde best exprest in his actions, yet thus briefly. Hee was a Prince, the soonest a man and the longest that held so, of any wee reade. He was of Personage comely, of an euen stature, gracefull, respectiuely affable, and well expressing himselfe: A Prince who loued 1. *Iustice*, 2. *Order*, 3. and his *People*, the Supreme vertues of a Soueraigne. 1. His loue of *Iustice*, was seene by the many Statutes he made for the due Execution thereof, & the most Straight-binding Oath, he ordayned to be ministred vnto his Iudges & Iusticiars: the punishment inflicted on them for corruption in their Offices, causing some to be thrust out, and others grieuously fined, as Sir *Henry Greene*, and Sir *William Skipwith Anno Reg.* 39. He bettered also that forme of publique Iustice which his Grand-father first began (and which remaines to this day) making also excellent lawes for the same. 2. His regard to the obseruation of *Order* amongst his people, witnesse so many Lawes, as were made to restrayne them from Excesses in all kindes. 3. His loue to his subiects, was exprest in the often easing of their grieuances, and his willingnesse to giue them all faire satisfaction, as appeares by the continuall granting of the due obseruation of their *Charters* in most of his Parliaments. And when (*Anno Reg.* 14.) they were iealous, vpon his assuming the title of the Kingdome of *France*, least *England* should thereby come to be vnder the Subiection of that Crowne, as being the greater, he to cleare them of that doubt, passed a Statute, in the firmest manner could be deuised, that this Kingdome should remayne intyre as before, without any violation of the rights it had.

His Charactor

His Iustice.

His loue to his people.

His Prouidence.

Prouident hee was in all his actions, neuer vndertaking any thing before hee had first furnished himselfe with meanes to performe it. And therein his subiects allowed him more with lesse adoe, then euer any of his Predecessors had: and he as fairely issued what hee receiued from them, hauing none other priuate vent of profusion, then his enterprises for aduancing the State, & honour of the Kingdom. True it is that most attent and carefull hee was to get monies, but yet it was without the Sackage of any man, such as his Grand-father made vpon the Officers of *Iustice*, the *Iewes* and others.

For his gifts wee finde them not such as either hurt his owne fame and reputation, or any way distasted the State. To be short, hee was a Prince who knew his worke, and did it: and therefore was hee better obeyed, better respected and serued then any of his Predecessors.

His

His *Workes of Pietie* were great and many, as the founding of *East-minster*, an Abbay (of the *Cisteaux* Order) neere the Towre. An Abbey for Nunnes at *Detford*. The *Kings Hall* in *Cambridge* for poore *Schollers*. An Hospitall for the poore at *Calais*. The building of Saint *Stephans* Chappell at *Westminster*, with the endowment of 300. pound, *per ann.* to that Church. His augmenting the Chappell at *Winsor*, and prouisions there for Church-men, and 24. poore *Knights*, &c. These were his publique Workes, the best Monuments and most lasting to glorifie the memorie of Princes. Besides these, his priuate buildings are great and many: as the Castle of *Winsor*, which he re-edified and enlarged. The Castle of *Quinborow*, Fortifications at *Calais* and other places.

His workes of Pietie.

His Buildings.

His magnificence was shewed in his Tryumphes and Feasts, which were sumptuously celebrated, with all due Rites and Ceremonies, the preseruers of Reuerence and Maiestie. To conclude, hee was a Prince, whose nature agreed with his Office; as onely made for it. Those defaillances wee finde in him at last, wee must not attribute to him but his age, wherein we neuer yet saw Prince happie. When their vigor fayles them (which is commonly about 60.) their Fortune doth. Whilest this Prince held together he was indissoluable, and as he was then, we take his Figure.

His magnificence.

Fortunate he was also in his Wife, a Ladie of excellent vertue, who though shee brought him little or none Estate, she brought him much content, some benefit by Alliance, & a faire Yssue. She drew euenly with him in al the courses of *Honor* that appertained to her side, & seems a peece so iust cut for him, as answer'd him rightly in euery ioynt. Gracious & louing she euer shewed her-selfe to this Nation, & did many works of Pietie, amongst which *Queenes Colledge* in *Oxford* remaines especially, a Monument of her Name, and Renowne. And it is worthy the Marke, that this *King* and his Grand-father *Edward* the first, the best of our Kings had the two best Wiues. Which shewes that worthines is such an *Elixar* as by contaction (if there be any disposition of goodnesse in the Metall, it will render it of the same Propertie: So that these *Queenes* could be no otherwise then they were hauing so execellent Husbands.

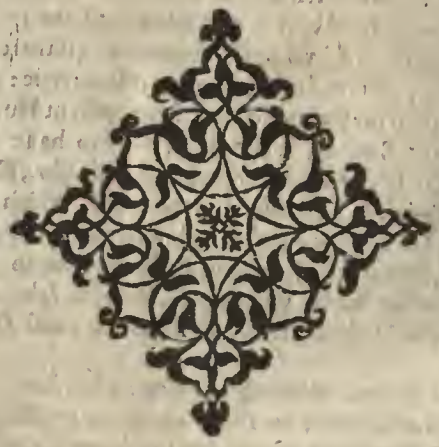
His Wife, and yssue.

She bare vnto him 7. Sonnes, whereof 5. liued to haue Yssue; *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Edmond* Earle of *Cambridge*, after Duke of *Yorke*, and *Thomas* of *Wood-stock*, which became Duke of *Glo-ster*. Foure Daughters (of fiue she bare) liued to be marryed: *Isabel* the eldest, to *Ingelram* Lord of *Coucy*, Earle of *Soissons*, and *Bedford*. *Ioan* to *Alphonso* 11. King of *Castile*, but she dyed before she lay with him. *Mary*, to *Iohn Monfort* Duke of *Britaigne*. *Margaret*, to *Iohn Hastings*, Earle of *Pembroke*, and shee also dyed without Yssue.

Thus haue we seene the end of this great *King*: who, how he came to the Crowne, we know, and now how he left it we see: in both are considerations of importance. His stepping ouer his Fathers head to come to his throne, though it were not his fault, yet had it a punishment, and that in a most high kinde: For, hauing so plentifull, and so able an Yssue Male, he had not yet a Sonne of his owne to sit on his Seat: but left the same (worse then he found it) to a Childe of eleuen yeeres of age, exposed to the Ambition of Vncles, which ouer weighed him: to a factious and discontented State at home: to broken and distracted inheritances abroad: himselfe hauing seene all his great gettings, purchased with so much expence, trauaile, & bloud-shed, rent cleane from him, and nothing remayning, but onely the poore Towne of *Calais*. To shewe that our Bounds are prescribed vs; and a Pillar set by him who beares vp the Heauens, which we are not to transpasse.

The end of the Life, and Raigne, of Edward *the Third.*

THus farre haue I brought this Collection, of our History, and am now come to the highest exaltation of this Kingdome, to a State full built, to a Gouernment reared vp with all those mayne Couplements of Forme and Order, as haue held it together euer since: notwithstanding those dilapidations made by our ciuile Discord, by the Nonage or negligence of Princes, by the alterations of Religion, by all those corruptions which Tyme hath brought forth to fret and canker-eate the same. And here I leaue, vnlesse by this which is done I finde incouragement to goe on.



Aboue all, to vs.

Aboue all to Him. To *Him*: for though many Titles of the Deitie, sound, & seeme, to be more glorious: Yet, *He* esteems thē all, not like this: Why? For no other reason, but that, they had not, *nos homines, & nostram Salutem*, in them. No *Name He* sets by, like that, wherein, with *His glory*, is ioyned, our safetie. And this, of all *He* made choyse of, (as, to Him, *aboue all*) that wee might accordingly esteeme of *Him*, that esteems it *aboue all*, only for our sakes.

Aboue all to vs. Acts. 4. 12. But howsoeuer, to Him: To vs sure, *aboue all*. For no *Name*, doe we hold by, *No name vnder heauen, giuen vs, whereby wee may be saued, but it*. To vs, more worth it is, then all, yea, (I may say,) then the very name of God. For, *God in Him reconcileth the world*; without *Him*, is enemie to it, 2. Cor. 5. 19 and to vs: So, with this *Name*, there is comfort in the *Name* of God: without it, none at all. The *Name* (sure) which we haue vse of *aboue all*. For it is the *Name*, which, in the depth of all our distresse, by sinn or by misery, we euen adiure *Him* by, *vt rem nominis impleat*, that he make good *His* owne *Name*, shew, He beares it not for nought, and so, saue vs: That, *He* would neuer so remember our wretched sinnes, as that thereby to forget *His* owne blessed *Name*: That

That *Name* specially, which He of all other most esteemeth: and so, of all other will least forget. *To Him* then, and *to vs* both; it is *Nomen super omne nomen*. And, so let it be; euen *Suprema lex, Salus*: & *supremum nomen, Iesus*. To saue, the highest Lawe: And the *Name* of a *Sauiour*, the Highest *Name*. Let it so be, let it euer stand Highest, and let no *name* whatsoeuer, get *aboue it*. And so, I come to the tenth verse.

That at the Name of Iesus, &c. Verse 10.

At the Name of Iesus. TO *giue* Him such a *Name*, is one gift: To *giue* Him, that for such a one, it should be reputed and taken, is another: For, *giuen* it may be, on His part; and not acknowledged on ours. So that, this is a new degree.

That God, though He haue so *exalted* it, yet reckons it not *exalted*, vnlesse we doe our parts also, vnlesse our *exaltation* come to. At which wordes, comes in our duty: The part, that concernes vs. Thus to esteeme it *Super omne nomen*, *aboue all*: And in signe we so doe, to declare as much. And therein, He leaues vs not to our selues, but prescribes the very manner of our declaration, how He will haue it: Namely, these two waies. *The Knee to bow to it; the tongue to confesse it.* Now,

Knee and Tongue.

Now, these are outward acts, both. So then: first we are to set downe this, for a ground; that *the exalting* of the soule within, is not enough. More is required by Him: more to be performed by vs. Hee will not haue the inward parts onely, and it skilles not for the outward members, though wee fauour our *Knees*, and locke vp our lippes. No: Mentall deuotion will not serue: *He* will haue, both corporall and vocall, to expresse it by.

Our body is to affoord her part, to his *glory*: And the parts of our body: And namely, these two, the *Knee*, and the *Tongue*. Not onely the vpper parts, the *Tongue* in our head: but euen the neither also, the *Knee* in our legge. The words be plaine, I see not how we can auoid them.

1. Kneebow.

For the *Knee*, two things. 1. *He* would haue it *bow*. 2. *He* would haue it *bow* to his *Name*. *Bow*,

2.

1. first: For, what better way, or more proper, then by our *humilitie* to *exalt* Him, who for *His humilitie* was *exalted*? Or what way more fit, to expresse our *humilitie* by, then by this signe of humblenesse? For, a speciall way it is of *exalting*, or making a thing high, by falling downe, &

2. making our selues low before it. Then secondly, That God careth for our *knees*: will be

serued

other thing, then doe their owne Schoolemen. It is not *gratia adoptionis*, this; the grace of adoption, (as in vs) that is, heere spoken of: It is *gratia vnionis*, the grace of vnion, And that grace *Christ* had. For, seeing, in the humanitie of *Christ*, there was not, there could not bee, any possibilitie of merit, to deserue the vniting it selfe, or the being assumed into the Godhead: To be so assumed, and so vnited, was that grace, we terme, the grace of vnion. Other grace, we know none in *Christ*. But being once so vnited, there was in Him, to deserue, and deserue againe, and that, amply: *Propter quod*, might then be truly said of *Him*, euery way.

This, for the *giuing* But now, how is this *Name*, said to be *aboue all names*? what, aboue the *Name of God*? We may say, with the Apostle, *when he saith, God did giue it Him, it is manifest, hee is excepted, that did giue it Him.* But wee need not so say. For, this is one of Gods owne *Names*. *I am* (saith He) *and beside me, there is no Sauiour.*

Super omne, Aboue all names.

1.Cor.15. 27.

How it is then *giuen Him*? *Accepit vt homo, quod habebat vt Deus.* What, as God, *Hee* had; as Man, He receiued; With His nature, His *Name*; and the chiefe of all His *Names*, the *Name* of a *Sauiour*. For *aboue all*, it is: *Aboue all*, to *Him*; *A-*

Esa.43.11.

boue

the perfect verfying, the full Christendome (as they say) till this day. Not yet full three dayes since, they vpbraided Him with it, *Iesus, a Sauiour*, A wise *Sauiour*, and *cannot saue Himselfe!* For, Hee seemed to perish then, to lose His life, in their sight: but, now, this day *taking it againe*, Hee shewed, Hee did but *lay it downe*, Hee lost it not: Hee was now *Iesus* indeed, able to saue himselfe: and able *to saue all those, that trust Him with their saluation.* So; it was neuer in kinde till now; but now, it was.

Matth. 27. 42.

Ioh. 10. 18.

Hebr. 5. 9.

But, if Hee *gaue* it Him, and ἐχαρίσατο gaue it Him, of grace: where is the merit then, the *Propter quod* wee spake of, what, is become of that? Safe enough, for all this. That, which is otherwise due, it may bee so cheerefully parted with, as if it were a franke and free gift indeed. The Apostle, elsewhere, hath taught vs to ioyne *debita* and *beneuolentia*, in one: They will stand together well enough.

Dedit ei. He did merit it.

1. Cor. 7. 3.

In many things, wee suffer slander by the Church of *Rome*: In this among many; as if wee pinched at *Christs* merit, and were loth, hee should bee allowed Himselfe to merit ought, because of this ἐχαρίσατο, that foundeth all vpon grace. Wherein, it is well knowne, take the most that can bee made of it, and we say no other

serued with them. Negatiuely; He will not haue them, *bow to Baal*. Positiuely, Hee wil haue them *bow* to Himselfe. wil ye beleeue Him, if He binde it with an oath? *I haue sworne* (saith he) *by my selfe, that euery Knee shall bow to me. Esa.* 45. 23. And will ye make God forsworne? And it cannot be saide, this is Old Testament: For euen in the New, *Rom.* 14. 11. These very words are applied to *Christ*, as meant to be fulfilled in, and to him.

1. Reg. 19. 18. Psal. 95. 6.

* FLEXIS GENIBVS ORANTES

Reges. David. Psal. 95. 6. Salomon. 1. King. 8. 54. Ezechias 2 Chro. 29. 30.

Prophetæ. Daniel. Dan. 6. 10. Esras Esr. 9. 5. Mica. Mic. 6. 6.

Christus ipse. Luc 22. 41.

Apostoli Petrus. Act. 9. 4. Paulus. Eph. 3. 14. Iacobus. Hegesip. 5 lib apud. Hieron. Stephanus. Act. 7. 60.

Ecclesia. id que, Ipsi Pentecostê. Act. 20. 36. 21. 5. *Euse. histi l. 5. c 5. Tertu. cont. Mar. l 3. c. 18. Dec aron mil. Athan. in vita. Anton. Basil apud Occu. Nazer. 2 de filio Hierond. 2. in c. 2. ad Eph. Augu. de car. pro mort. gerend c. 5 Theoph. Alex. Pasch. 2. Cesar. Arel. hom 30.

We begin our *Liturgie* euery day, with the *Psalme* (and we had it from the Primitiue Church, they did beginne theirs with the same.) Wherein we inuite our selues to it: *Come, Let us worship, and fall down, and kneele before the Lord our maker.* Shall we euer say it & neuer doe it? Is not this to mocke God?

* They in the Scripture, They in the Primitiue Church did so, did *bow*. And verily, He will not haue vs worship Him like *Elephants*, as if we had no ioints in our *Knees*; He will haue more honour of men, then of the pillers in the Church.